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DEFINING GOAN IDENTITY: A LITERARY APPROACH

by

DONNA J. YOUNG

Under the Direction of David McCreery

ABSTRACT

This is an analysis of Goan identity issues in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries using unconventional sources such as novels, short stories, plays, pamphlets, periodical articles, and internet newspapers. The importance of using literature in this analysis is to present how Goans perceive themselves rather than how the government, the tourist industry, or tourists perceive them. Also included is a discussion of post-colonial issues and how they define Goan identity. Chapters include "Goan Identity: A Concept in Transition," "Goan Identity: Defined by Language," and "Goan Identity: The Ancestral Home and Expatriates." The conclusion is that by making Konkani the official state language, Goans have developed a dual Goan/Indian identity. In addition, as the Goan Diaspora becomes more widespread, Goans continue to define themselves with the concept of building or returning to the ancestral home.

INDEX WORDS: Goa, India, Goan identity, Goan Literature, Post-colonialism, Identity issues, Goa History, Portuguese Asia, Official languages, Konkani, Diaspora, The ancestral home, Expatriates

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by

DONNA J. YOUNG

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

In the College of Arts of Sciences

Georgia State University

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2005

DEFINING GOAN IDENTITY; A LITERARY APPROACH

by

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Georgia State University
December 2005

DEDICATION

In dedication to the late Dr. Camila Ribeiro Da Costa

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INTRODUCTION

Because Goa, India, was a Portuguese colony for more than four hundred and fifty years, incorporated into India as a territory in 1961, and became a separate state in 1987, there is an issue as to whether Goans have a separate identity, an Indian identity, a dual identity or no identity at all. Goa's location on the Arabian Sea has historically been a strategic port. As a result, it has been subject to many influences through the centuries and the identity of the people has changed over time. Its geographic location in a tropical climate with fertile land has made it attractive for agriculture. In recent times however, many Goans have been forced to leave the area because of lack of economic opportunities. Because many Goans and their descendents reside outside of Goa, an additional question that needs to be answered is: Who is a Goan? In order to reach a conclusion on these issues it is necessary to examine the geography, history and Goans' own perceptions about themselves.

A Synopsis of the Geography and History of Goa

Goa is located on the western Indian coastline of the Arabian Sea about 250 miles south of Bombay. It shares a border with the state of Maharastra to the north and northeast and with Karnataka to the south and southeast. The state is administratively divided into two districts: North and South Goa. The major cities are the state capital Panaji (formerly called Panjim), Mapusa, and Margao. The state is further divided into eleven talukas or administrative districts: Pernem, Bicholim, Satari, Bardez, Tiswadi, and Ponda in Northern Goa, while Mormugao, Salcete, Sanguem, Quepem, and Canacona are in Southern Goa.

Compared to other Indian states, Goa is small. It is only 62 miles long and approximately 30 miles wide. This small state however, has three different geographical areas: The rugged slopes of the Sahyadri Mountains, the Midland region and the Coastal region. The foothills region is famous for the Dedhsagar waterfall and is Goa's least populated area. It provides most of the state's fresh water and is the source of all of Goa's seven main rivers. Two of the most important rivers, the Zuari and the Mandovi, cut across the center of the state meeting to form a wide bay which divides the state into two areas: North Goa and South Goa. The Midland region is comprised of laterite plateaus of approximately 40 to 350 feet in elevation. In the lower parts of the region there are many fruit and nut plantations. Most of Goa's Hindu population resides in this area because it was not conquered by the Portuguese until the late eighteenth century. The Coastal region is the best known area of Goa because it is famous for its golden beaches and has become a popular tourist destination.

Goa is 745 miles south of the Tropic of Cancer. Its climate is tropical and has only two seasons: the dry season lasts six to eight months with temperatures ranging between 80 to 95 degrees during the day with low humidity, and the monsoon season which occurs between June and the end of September when the state can receive up to 36 inches of rain during the month of July. Travel is difficult during this time and strong winds and high seas make the beaches and fishing off limits.

The population of Goa is approximately one million people. An estimated 66% are Hindus, 29% are Christians, and 5% are Muslim and the remainder are Sikhs or belong to other

religions.[1] Statistics, however, do not explain the interesting religious blend that is found in Goa. In the early years of Portuguese rule, many Hindus converted to Christianity to retain their property rights. In some instances part of the family would move to areas outside Portuguese control while the other half of the family stayed in Portuguese Goa. From the time of the Portuguese conquest, Goans have had family members of different religions. In 1616 the Bible was translated in the native language Konkani, and Brahmin families converting to Catholicism retained their caste. Even today, Goans both Christian and Hindu often observe the same festivals or at least pay respects to the other faith. At the festivals, prayers are usually said in Konkani for both faiths to unite the villages in celebration.

Goa's economy is predominately agricultural. Rice, fruits, coconuts, legumes, cashews and betel nuts are the state's major crops. Goa exports these products as well as spices, manganese, iron ore, bauxite, fish and salt. It manufactures fertilizers, sugar, textiles, chemicals, iron pellets, and pharmaceuticals. The tourist industry has grown in the twentieth century to become an essential part of the Goan economy.

Historically Goa has been known by many names such as Gove, Govapuri, and Gomant. Medieval Arabian geographers knew it as Sindabur or Sandabur and the Portuguese called it Velha Goa (Old Goa). It was originally settled by Dravidian people sometime in the Middle Stone Age who later mixed with Aryan invaders about 1500 BC. Beginning about the first century AD, Goa's position on the Arabian Sea and its natural harbors made it an important international trading center. Goa was ruled by the Kadamba dynasty from the second century AD

[1] Bradnock, Goa Handbook , 17.

to 1312 with its capital Govalpuri on the banks of the Zuari river. Muslim rulers from the Deccan region invaded the area and ruled it from 1312 to 1367. It was then annexed to the Hindu Vijayanagar empire and later conquered by the Muslim Bahmani dynasty. The Bahmani and the Vijayanagar rulers throughout the fifteenth century fought over control of Goa and in 1470, the Muslim general Mahmud Gawan finally drove the Vijayanagars out. Disputes divided the Bahmani empire, and the Muslim king of Bijapur became the region's ruler. In 1510 the Portuguese attacked the city because they wanted Goa's ports in order to obtain access to the lucrative spice trade routes of India, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and the East Indies (Indonesia). At first Alfonso de Albuquerque was able to conquer the city with little struggle. (Some sources claim the Hindus invited the Portuguese in order to overthrow their Muslim rulers and then expected them to leave.) Three months later, the king of Bijapur returned with sixty thousand troops. Albuquerque returned with a larger force, recaptured the city, massacred all of the Muslims, and appointed a Hindu as governor of Goa.

Goa was the first territorial possession of the Portuguese in Asia. Albuquerque left almost untouched the customs of the communities in the islands in the Mandovi River with the exception of abolishing sati. The Portuguese then made Goa the capital of the Portuguese empire in the East. Laws passed in 1541 ordered the destruction of the Hindu temples, banned Hindu rituals, and decreed that only those who were baptized could retain the rights to their land. In 1560 the Inquisition began almost two hundred years of religious persecution. Severe punishment was inflicted upon the Christian converts out of fear that continuation of their traditional lifestyle would weaken the new religion's hold over them. In an attempt to force

Goans to speak Portuguese, the governor banned the use of any indigenous language. The Konkani language, however, continued to be widely used both in religious worship and in the home in spite of the Portuguese ban.

To escape the oppression caused by the Inquisition, many Hindus fled across the Mandovi River taking their Hindu religious objects with them; a number of the Christian converts fled to South India. Many converts, however, remained and the Catholic Church's presence continued to grow without opposition. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits had established many schools and hospitals. Construction of the Se Cathedral (the largest in Asia) began in 1560 and construction of the Basilica of Bom Jesus (which contains the remains the nondecaying remains of St. Francis Xavier) was between 1594 and 1605.

Following a succession to the throne problem, Portugal lost its power and control over the Indian Ocean to Spain in 1580. Although Portugal regained its independence in 1640, the Dutch had become so powerful that they drove the Portuguese out of South East Asia. They blockaded Goa in 1603, but did not succeed in taking it. Epidemics of cholera and other illness also contributed to Goa's decline. The Portuguese population in Goa decreased to the extent that Portugal sent criminals to Goa in order to boost their presence.

In the mid-eighteenth century Portugal's power base in Goa remained weak. A series of reforms introduced at that time included the end of the Inquisition and confiscation of Jesuit property. In 1741 King Joao V of Portugal began a campaign to extend Portuguese control to provinces called "the New Conquests." In 1741 Bicholim and in 1782 Satari were conquered.

Portugal acquired Pernem in 1788, and then acquired Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem, and Canacona three years later. In 1763 the headland of Cabo de Rama was the final area added to Goa. In the "New Conquests" the people remained mainly Hindu because the missionaries did not have the zeal to handle conversions after the end of the Inquisition. There was also pressure to abolish racial discrimination within the Church. Portuguese clerics held all major church positions. While Goa grew in size, Portugal's power in other parts of Asia continued to decline. In 1787 Goa experienced an important revolt against Portuguese authority. A group of priests met in the house of the Pinto family in Candolim and plotted to overthrow the government. Fifteen of the forty-seven conspirators in the Pinto Rebellion were arrested, tortured and executed. The rebellion helped to speed up the reforms to end racist policies that prevented Goans from positions of authority and power in the Catholic Church. During the Napoleonic Wars, Portugal itself was occupied by Napoleon's troops, and the British occupied Goa from 1799 until 1813.

During the early nineteenth century, the Inquisition officially ended and church reforms were put in place to end racial discrimination. Panjim (now Panaji) was declared the capitol in 1843. For the next hundred years, Portugal clung on to its colony and administered it in a desultory manner. Beneath the surface an independence movement slowly formed and erupted after the First World War. Portugal's neutrality during the Second World War did not leave Goa unaffected by the events in Europe, and it became an intelligence center used by both the British and the Germans.

At the end of World War II, when India achieved Independence, there were less than 30 Portuguese officials stationed in Goa. The Portuguese came under increasing pressure from India

to cede Goa to it. In response to this pressure, Portugal dispatched more than four thousand troops to try to retain the colony. Amongst Goans there was little support for the issue one way or the other. In 1955 *Satyagrahis* (non-violent demonstrators from India) attempted to enter Goa but were deported. More *Satyagrahis* tried to enter Goa, but they were met with the Portuguese troops. Minor skirmishes continued. At a demonstration in Margao, the police fired on an unarmed mob, killing 32 people and injuring 225. Sporadic violence continued until India invaded Goa on December 19, 1961, ending four hundred and fifty years of Portuguese rule in Goa in a few days.

From 1961 until 1987 Goa, along with the former Portuguese enclaves of Daman and Diu, was a Union Territory. During this time, transformation of Goa's almost medieval economy occurred. Dramatic changes in the infrastructure occurred: establishment of a university and colleges, bridges built, roads paved, and electricity installed. For example: in 1961 only three villages out of 374 had electricity; in 1980, 330 of them had electricity. Students were no longer required to go to Bombay or Portugal to obtain a higher education. During this time, there was much controversy over whether Goa should become a state rather than a territory of India, and whether Marathi or Konkani should become the official state language. There were heated arguments for both languages because some people felt that Goa should be joined to the State of Maharastra. Although the issue continues to be raised, Goans chose Konkani in a 1967 Opinion Poll. Goa became a state in 1987 and in 1992 Konkani became one of the official languages of India.

Although it is not one of India's poorest states, Goa today is facing many problems. Because of its high unemployment, it is losing many educated adults while, at the same time, importing manual labor from other parts of India. Goans are leaving this state in record numbers to further their education or to work in the Kuwait, (also called "The Gulf"), England, Canada, and Australia to make money with hopes of returning to Goa with their wealth. Tourism has now become a major industry that is having a significant impact on the economy, so much so that people jokingly refer to it as "Touristan." The local hotels in northern Goa are giving way to large chain resort hotels and the beach areas are overrun by stalls selling crafts and a variety of touristy items made in other parts of India and hawked by non-Goans, including many Kashmiris.

Methodology and Theories

Presented here is an examination of the writings of Goan fiction writers and scholars, which present their views on the issue of Goan identity, to avoid the possible pitfalls of Orientalism, defined by Edward Said as: "the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all non-European peoples and culture."[2] Using Western or non-Goan sources would create a Goan identity with a Western bias. In Orientalism, "knowledge of the Orient, because generated out of strength, in a sense *creates* the Orient, the Oriental and his world….The Oriental is something one judges… one studies and depicts, one disciplines … or illustrates."[3] The assumption was that everything in the Orient was either inferior or needed to be studied by the West so that it could be corrected.

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[2] Said, Orientalism, 7.
[3] Said, Orientalism, 40.

While sources such as government publications, statistics, and documents reveal a great deal about a society, there are other sources that many people overlook that reveal insights about Goans and their views on identity. These sources reveal all aspects of Goan life, especially social status, race, political, and social issues. An analysis of relevant literature such as novels, plays, short stories, essays, and pamphlets, are presented for consideration. Additional sources including periodicals, interviews, internet sites, internet bulletin boards, and internet newspapers, provide current opinions on these topics.

All of the included literature is written in English, with the exception of The Upheval: Acchev, which was translated from Konkani. The reason for not including literature written in Konkani or Marathi is the lack of English translations. The majority of the literature available to a non-Konkani and non-Marathi speaker is in English and many speakers of those languages read and understand English. Very little is written in Portuguese, especially after Goa became part of India.

The use of translated works, if available, could potentially be a problem to use in determining how Goans perceive themselves. Translations are sometimes not accurate and often the translator is influenced by his or her own identity. Edward Said points out that in Europe, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was a large amount of literature about the Orient. It was called an "Orientalism renaissance." Said declares that:

> Suddenly it seemed to a wide variety of thinkers, politicians, and artists, that a new awareness of the Orient, which extended from China to the Mediterranean had arisen. This awareness was partly the result of newly

> discovered and translated Oriental texts in languages like Sanskrit, Zend, and Arabic; it was also the result of a newly perceived relationship between the Orient and the West.[4]

Said's comments show that Orientalists used translated texts in order to reinforce the opinion of the superiority of Europe or the West over the East.

In all of the sources analyzed, Goans are proud of their unique and complex identity. As Manohar Sardessi writes, "Nothing is simpler than being a Goan….For God in his infinite sagacity has divided the world into two continents, Goa and the rest of the world: and the whole of humanity into two distinct races: Goans and non-Goans."[5] John Hobgood feels that this "Goan celebration of self-worth is what any ethnic group will do that has a dynamic living culture."[6] Peter Nazareth notes:

> Goans are not used to seeing themselves in literature….they tend to think of it as gossip…they do not realize that [fiction writers] do not just write gossip reflecting the attitudes and perspectives of gossips; that much of the [writer's] work not only deals with colonial politics but also questions the hardness of some Goan traditions and the absence of love in Goans, an absence of which if not followed by self-awareness leads to the vacuum being filled by non-Goans.[7]

It is therefore through an examination of Goan literature and other writings by Goan authors that a different and more balanced perspective on Goan identity and its evolving nature is presented. While the views of non-Goan scholars can give an allegedly objective view of Goan identity, it is how Goans themselves view their own identity that gives a more complete viewpoint on the subject.

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[4] Said, Orientalism, 42.
[5] Sardessi, "Editorial" 18.
[6] Hobgood, "Defining Goans," 15.
[7] Nazareth, "End of Exile," 35.

The difficulty in defining Goan identity is that it is a changing condition. Teotonio R. de Souza, a prominent Goan historian believes:

> [C]ultural identities are defined as transient phases of identification. Even those identities which appear well defined and presenting an appearance of permanency are subject to changing shades of meanings and to gradual or fast transformations in their underlying contents.[8]

Goan identity has undergone many changes because it was a Portuguese colony for four hundred and fifty years before it became a state of India. Goa never achieved its independence and the people went through a long struggle in examining and exploring their identity. Although it is claimed that Goans have no identity, a much stronger argument can be made that Goans have developed a dual Goan/Indian identity which is largely based upon their ties to India, a renewed interest in their heritage which includes the Konkani language, and the increased importance of the concept of the ancestral home to which they long to return.

Goan identity today is also greatly affected by the Disapora. As more Goans are leaving Goa to live in countries all over the world, the use of Konkani is decreasing and more Goans are writing in English. It is noteworthy that most Goans are emigrating to English speaking countries such as Great Britain, Canada, Australia, or the United States. Writing in English is not only an influence of the expatriates newly adopted countries, but also it is a way to ensure that the descendants of Goans will have parts of their culture preserved. Most Goans study English in school, and it is widely spoken in Goa. Literature written in English is more likely to be read by Goans than that written in either Marathi or Konkani where it may be understood by only

[8] De Souza, "Goan Identity," 2001.

those who are familiar with the language. Peter Nazareth explains the reason this literature is important to Goans, especially those who are expatriates:

> What does Goan-and other relevant-literature have to offer Goans, particularly those growing up in Canada and cut off from Goan History? Scholars have recently written much about centuries of Goan history, and it is important for us to know it. Thanks to colonialism most of us only know about the history of European empires….Goan literature shows Goans what is imprinted in them by a history they do not know, and shows them further how to recognize it, draw from it or draw it out, and then to make rational choices.[9]

The complexity of the issue of Goan identity can be resolved by examining various aspects of Goan culture through the eyes of Goans themselves. Their long history of Portuguese domination has left an indelible mark on their culture. Superimposed on the culture since 1961 is an Indian/Hindu influence which is supported by some Goans and rejected by others. Because Goa has a diverse cultural population composed of three different religions, different social classes, and exiles returning home, the state is always going to be comprised of people with differing opinions. Despite these differences, there is a common background of being a former colony of Portugal. The language differences have largely been resolved in spite of being resurrected periodically by Marathi supporters for political purposes. There exists a separate Goan identity as opposed to an Indian identity alongside a joint Goan/Indian identity that is evident in the current literature and is widely discussed by Goan writers.

[9] Nazareth, "End of Exile," 36-37.

CHAPTER 1

GOAN IDENTITY: A CONCEPT IN TRANSITION

Goan identity is an extremely complex issue. Even Goans themselves cannot agree on a definition of who is Goan. A.K. Priolkar states that he cannot define a Goan to his satisfaction. Not only is there the issue of who is considered Goan, but also the problem that the territory of Goa was enlarged when it was under Portuguese rule. Does the definition of Goa only include the original territory of the island of Tissuwadi or all of the land that became a state after it joined India? Priolkar determines that Goa defines more than just the original island and does include all of the land that the Portuguese conquered that later became the state of Goa. The second issue the writer confronts, determining who is a Goan, is much harder to define than the borders of Goan territory. Goans have long disputed amongst themselves whether they are Goan, Portuguese, or Indian. Priolkar states that even if the groups of people who claim to be Portuguese or Indian should still be considered Goan. Without giving a reason, he finally decides that a Goan is, "anyone, whatever his present whereabouts, whose forefathers have been domiciled in Goa, at anytime in history and who is aware of his connection and cherishes and values it."[10] In other words, this broad definition does not eliminate those of Goan descent or those who hold other citizenships being defined as Goan, especially in the literary community.

Goan identity is an issue that has often debated in its literature. It is an important theme in the majority of Goan books and short stories written both by Goans who still continue to live in

[10] Prilokar, "Who is a Goan?" 269.

Goa and those who live abroad. The literature is intended for a Goan audience who understand the political debates and points of view of the characters. The major debates include whether Goans are Portuguese, Indian, or simply Goans, and whether they should use Marathi or Konkani as their official state language.

Karin Larsen's Faces of Goa states that Goan cultural identity does not remain static, it is constantly changing. "Culture is dynamic and is marked by the process of reinterpretation and syncretism. Reinterpretation is the process through which any element of culture undergoes a marked change."[11] According to Larsen, Goans formed a new identity after the Portuguese conquered them. When they accepted the new ways of the Portuguese, other aspects of Goan society became more valued and traditional: the family home, social class, and gaining economic status. "[T]hose traits which may upset the stability of the culture will be rejected."[12] Goans adopted some Portuguese culture, but never completely identified with Portuguese. This separate identity, the tradition of maintaining the family home and increasing one's social status caused the rise in the desire for self rule. While many authors write about Goa's liberation focus on the twentieth century, Larsen argues that the freedom struggle began much earlier:

> [T]he freedom struggle in Goa was actually a process lasting nearly one hundred years by which few individuals first realised their subjugation and then diffused these ideas into the larger society in order to garner support. These ideas then became ideals, translated into institutions with the goal of realising the ideals of self rule, freedom and a democratic state."[13]

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[11] Larsen, Faces of Goa, 43.
[12] Larsen, Faces of Goa, 45.
[13] Larsen, Faces of Goa, 50.

A pamphlet, Denationalization of Goa, published in 1944 by the Goa Congress Committee (a part of the independence movement), in an effort to prove that Goa does not have any culture, to challenge the myths that Albuquerque was tolerant of Hindus and mixed marriages, and to argue that St. Francis Xavier did not convert many Goans to Christianity. According to the authors, these two men did not help to create a unique Goan identity, but created a region in India that does not have an identity.[14] The pamphlet authors argued that because of the Portuguese, Goans did not obtain a European-Indian culture, but rather, no culture at all. The pamphlet is very anti-Portuguese and subjective; everything European, from the Portuguese language to the architecture, is criticized. Its main argument is that Goans should disregard the Portuguese aspect to their culture and accept an Indian identity. A Goan is:

> A servile follower of everything foreign in his country, hybrid in manners and habits, living in disharmony with his natural surroundings, his strange behavior makes one doubt the purity of his race, which nevertheless, in no way differs from that of the neighboring Indians.[15]

The major flaw in this argument is that if a Goan is a hybrid in manners and habits, then how can he be just like the neighboring Indians? Another statement made by the authors is that "the forced denationalization of Goans is more marked because foreign rule has lasted longer in Goa than in other parts of India."[16] It is true that Goa was under foreign rule for more than four hundred and fifty years, but to say they have no identity because of Portuguese rule is a mere propaganda statement offered without proof. Goans have always identified themselves as Goan

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[14] Goa Congress Committee, Denationalization of Goa , 59.
[15] Goa Congress Committee, Denationalization of Goa, 7.
[16] Goa Congress Committee, Denationalization of Goa 7.

with distinct aspects of their culture which, at that time, included a Portuguese part of their heritage.

Because culture and identity are not static, Goans are continuing to redefine themselves. Today, as Goa has more contact and trade with India, Goans are defining themselves more as Indians:

> [T]he cultural fusion and synergy which one would expect to find following a realignment and political identification with the Indian nation would result in a cultural drift towards becoming 'more Indian' and towards a greater identification with India rather than Portugal."[17]

The novel Angela's Goan Identity, reveals this shifting viewpoint. In it Carmo D'Souza discusses the problem of determining what is a Goan identity and its change over time. A baby girl is born to a Christian Goan family and the problems of Goan identity surface when choosing their daughter's name. At the time of Angela's birth, Goa is still under Portuguese rule and Portuguese officials are attempting to quash feelings of nationalism. The local priest, in agreement with the Portuguese officials, insists that the new baby's name must be a Christian name.[18] The family, however, has nationalist feelings and even though the priest insists that her name is Angela, the family calls her by an Indian version of that name, Anjali,[19] they believe that the child would benefit from going to a local school that teaches a local language where she will learn about Indian culture rather than a school that teaches in Portuguese. Although the novel is silent on the issue, Angela's parents desire to have her receive her education in Marathi indicates

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[17] Larson, Faces of Goa, 51-52
[18] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity , 6.
[19] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 9.

support for the Marathi side of the language debate over the use of Konkani, the traditional language of Goa. The novel points out that is was rare for a Christian child to attend a Marathi school. Most Christian children in her village only took a few classes in Portuguese at the local Primary school.[20] The conflict over the Marathi/Portuguese language issue is shown when some of Angela's relatives oppose her studying Marathi rather than Portuguese because they fear it would be an obstacle in continuing her education. Angela transfers schools when a new law required Portuguese as the language of instruction in all primary schools. It is interesting to note that although Angela spends two years in the Marathi school, she learned very little about Indian culture because alphabets, reading and mathematics were the educational emphasis. She does learn, however, that Goans can speak and have a culture that is not Portuguese. At the Marathi school, she asks her friend Atmaram if he is Goan and if he plays the violin, the piano, the guitar, or sings *Fados*. He declares playing instruments does not make a person Goan and *Fados* are Portuguese songs. He replies that he sings patriotic songs instead.[21] Atmaram serves to challenge Angela's concept of Goan identity. Angela thinks that her friend must be a Christian. She asks him: "But you are a Hindu? How can a Hindu be a true Goan?"[22] Calling her lack of knowledge of Goan history into question and revealing her ancestral roots, he answers, "Don't forget your forefathers were Hindus and they wore *dhotis*."[23]

Angela's changing concept of identity is revealed at the Portuguese school where young minds are instilled with Portuguese identity and propaganda. At the Portuguese school, her name

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[20] Carmo D'Souza Angela's Goan Identity, 13.
[21] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 15.
[22] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 17.
[23] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 18.

changes again to Anjinha because of the political overtones of the name Anjali. Angela quickly becomes mesmerized by a teacher at the new school and becomes indoctrinated with Portuguese concepts.[24] The educational focus is so politically oriented that even children's drawings become political statements. The teacher instructs them to draw "gentlemen" as Europeans and not as Indians in native *dhotis*.[25] The children study Portuguese literature, geography, and history and taught catchy tunes to sing in praise of Portugal; they learn nothing about India or Indian culture. The students become convinced that Goa is part of Portugal like Madeira and the Azores.[26] Even though Angela's family tells her that India is much bigger and more powerful than Portugal, she remains unconvinced and insists that her *professora* is correct.[27]

To show further the concept of a changing identity, Atmaram, Angela's childhood friend from her Marathi school, enrolls in the same Portuguese school and changes from a child who is very nationalist and proud of his Goan identity to believing that he is Portuguese in every way. He becomes completely transformed by his Portuguese education and becomes militarily trained because he believes that he can help defend Goa when India invades it.[28] When India invades Goa, and Goa falls with little resistance to the Indians, Atmaram is does not adjust well: "Most of the students adapted to the change. There were a few who became victims in the process of the transition. Atmaram simply seemed unable to pick up the trend of the past to continue into the future."[29] Dissatisfied and feeling out of place with his new school, he leaves Goa to finish

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[24] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 19
[25] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 21.
[26] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 24-25.
[27] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 28.
[28] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 30-31.
[29] CarmoD'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 50.

his education in Portugal.[30] Angela, on the other hand, begins to see her identity as being Indian.[31] When she begins attending an English school, her name changes back again to Angela because it sounds more English.[32] Again her identity and the language of her schooling are changed. After Angela graduates from school, she continues to maintain her "Indian identity" by marrying a man who is not Portuguese, Goan or Christian but an Indian Sikh. Atmaram returns from Portugal for her wedding; he has maintained his "Portuguese identity" and culture by marrying a Portuguese woman from Coimbra. Angela asks her friend, "Are you Portuguese now?"[33] Although Atmaram is a Portuguese citizen and has a "Portuguese identity", he cannot forget he is also Goan. He tells Angela, "I am Goan. As hundred percent as you are," said Atmaram. "We never cease to be Goans."[34] In reality he has assumed a dual Portuguese/Goan identity, and rejects the concept of an Indian identity as Goa comes under Indian control. Angela points out that she knows Goans who have gone abroad, have become out of touch with Goan culture, acquired the identity of their new home, and still have a Goan identity. Atmaram admits: "Goan identity is progressively changing."[35]

Another novel that discusses the Portuguese educational system and how it influenced the formation of Goan identity is Sorrowing Lies My Land. Lambert Mascarenhas writes:

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[30] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 56.
[31] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 54.
[32] Carmo D;Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 50.
[33] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 144.
[34] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 144.
[35] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity ,144.

"According to our books, Portugal was the world and the world Portugal, and if there were any other places existing, they were not worth learning about."[36]

In the novel, Felipe (called Babu by his friends and family), makes the mistake of asking his teacher if Alfonso de Albuquerque spoke Konkani. The *professora* is annoyed by his question, but he persists in his questioning her as to why Goans speak both Portuguese and Konkani. He cannot understand the complexity of Goan identity. He questions, if Goans are really Portuguese and not Indian, then why do they have a separate language?

> 'Did Alfonso de Albuquerque speak Konkani, *Professora*?'
> I asked that day.
> 'How silly of you Felipe,' she exclaimed with a snigger. 'How could he? His language was Portuguese.'
> 'But we are Portuguese too, aren't we *Professora*? How's it then that our Mother tongue is Konkani?'
> 'Who said that our Mother tongue is Konkani? Ours is also Portuguese,' she explained.
> 'Ours also? Then what is Konkani?'
> The teacher was flustered and not wanting not proceed with this unpleasant subject said to me: Konkani is not a language. It is…it is..er…never mind what. Our language is Portuguese and we must speak it even in our homes. Do you understand?'[37]

The teacher's negative reaction to Konkani is explained by Frantz Fanon in Black Skin White Masks. Although Fanon speaks about colonialism and racism in Martinique, his criticisms about race, social class, and language also apply to Goa. He states that the official language in Martinique is French, and teachers watched their

[36] Lambert Mascarenhas, Sorrowing Lies My Land, 35.
[37] Lambert Mascarenhas, Sorrowing Lies My Land ,35.

students closely to make sure they were not speaking in Creole. Fanon observes that in Brittany, France, there is a local dialect, but Bretons do not consider themselves to be inferior to other French people. In Martinique, however, speaking Creole implies that the person is less civilized and therefore, inferior.[38] The Goan teacher's job is the same: to make sure that Goan students in Portuguese schools do not use the local language and that they learn that the Portuguese people are superior.

The novel the Mango and the Tamarind Tree by Leslie de Noronha gives insight into the feelings of Goans who had a Portuguese identity that changed into a Goan one after the end of the colonial period. On the surface, the novel deals with the affluent but disintegrating Albuquerque family. In reality, De Noronha is showing the disintegration of Portuguese identity in Goa by having the novel's main character Raoul break with many traditions. He refuses to go through an arranged marriage, falls in love with a woman from a lower class, and he sells the family home after his mother's death. Raoul's heritage is his enemy. It kept him from marrying the woman he loved and from the international career he loved. By giving up his traditions Raoul symbolizes Goans giving up Portuguese traditions and shows the upheaval that frequently accompanies major political change and the reaction to it. Raoul's family pressures him to settle down and to take care of the family estate just as his father had done; it is hard for them to accept changes. Raoul thinks about the pressure he is under:

[38] Fanon, Black Skin White Masks, 28.

> But even as he spoke, even though he was really in a temper, he knew the appointment had been made and he had to attend the party, no matter how furious he was with his aunt and mother, unless he was burning with fever, or dead. That was one of his enemies: Tradition.[39]

Raoul's uncle Caesar explains how the end of colonialism is changing people's identities not only in Goa, but also all over the world. "Today countries are breaking through, demanding the right to achieve, actually achieving something worthwhile, establishing identities, homes, personalities, voices that are heard with grudging respect.[40]

While Angela's Goan Identity discusses different aspects of Goan identity, and the identity shifts that ordinary people underwent after Liberation, The Mango and the Tamarind Tree discusses the rejection of Portuguese colonial identity. Joseph K. Henry, a reviewer of The Mango and the Tamarind Tree, agrees that De Noronha's intent is to show how the end of colonialism changed Goan identity:

> De Norohna skillfully integrates the Goan historical past with contemporary time and issues of the day. The aftermath of colonialism not only provoked nostalgia but produced a staid aristocratic class, a confused middle class and a disproportionate group of unskilled peasants.[41]

Henry also points out that the mango, Goa's national fruit, is symbolic in the novel of the uncorrupted colonial culture which is now only a memory. The fruit is a staple of the poor, yet it is also the foundation of the Raoul's family wealth. The mango

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[39] De Noronha, Mango and Tamarind Tree, 63.
[40] De Noronha, Mango and Tamarind Tree, 166.
[41] Henry. "On Mango and Tamarind Tree," 13.

is, "caught up in this web of contradictions and change…."[42] The people of Goa are likewise caught up in such a web and are seeking to find their own identity.

Maria, by K.A. Abbas, argues that Goans have an Indian identity. Maria is a Goan woman who fights against the Portuguese with six other Indian *Satiagrahis* who are not only from different parts of India, but also from different castes and different religions. The mission of "the Seven Indians" is to sneak into Goa and hoist seven Indian flags up at different strategic locations as a symbol of Indian support for the Goan revolutionaries. Because they belong to a nonviolent protest group, they are not to use violence unless it is in self defense. The Seven Indians have a hard time working together as a team at first because they have different backgrounds, but they learn to put aside their differences in order to help Maria for the benefit of the cause and, because she is so young, they admired her courage. While working with their team, Maria begins to realize that she has an Indian identity that is distinct from her Goan identity when she is given her Indian flag at the beginning of the mission.:

> By now, each of them had taken out the flag that had become
> The symbol of Goa, and they were on the tenterhooks to find out
> whether she had accepted their gesture and their help. She looked
> from one face to the other, then she looked at the flags-then she
> wondered aloud, Seven flags-and six Indians?'
> Subodh replied, 'the seventh flag is for you.'
> And he handed the flag to her….
> Tears of happiness welled into her eyes,
> for the first time on her face was the flicker of a smile as she
> said, with trembling lips, 'I-am-an Indian, too!'[43]

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[42] Henry, "On Mango and Tamarind Tree," 13.
[43] Abbas, Maria, 66.

After that realization, Maria refers to herself as Indian. In the middle of the mission when the Seven Indians are putting up an Indian flag, Anwar Ali, confiscates a gun from a Portuguese official and refuses to give it to Maria. She wants to take the gun from him and bury it because she knows if the Portuguese catch them with it, they will be killed. Anwar Ali and Maria argue:

> 'Who are you to give me orders?'
> 'I am the Seventh Indian!'
> 'So what?' He answered, 'I am an Indian too!'
> 'I am the one who was born in Goa, whose father and uncles
> died in the struggle against the Portuguese, and my brother—
> the one whose clothes I am wearing--is still in their prison.' [44]

Maria's comment shows that although she has an Indian identity, she still has an additional belief that being Goan is slightly different from being Indian. She believes that she has a dual identity and is different from other Indians because of the struggle that she and her family have endured.

In contrast to the novel Maria, B.K. Boman-Behram in Goa and Ourselves argues that Goans have a Portuguese identity. The author, is pro-Portuguese and claims that the Portuguese were not racially prejudiced and that both Goans and the Portuguese had equal rights.[45] He states, "Look at any facet you like of Goan life and you will see Portugal deeply reflected in it. Ethnically and culturally, the Goans have been moulded to the Lusitanian type they remain by tradition and choice."[46] This author continues to praise the Portuguese by declaring that they respected local institutions, favored mixed

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[44] Abbas, Maria, 81.
[45] Boman-Behram, Goa and Ourselves, 34.
[46] Boman-Behram, Goa and Ourselves, 57.

marriages and attempted to assimilate native society to the social customs of Portugal.[47] According to Boman-Beham, the Liberation movement, founded by Goans living in Bombay, grew only because of the support by the Indian government in New Delhi. He declares that in New Delhi the Liberation Movement "has been nursed into the howling brat we see" and insists that Goans did not want their independence nor did they want to become part of India[48] : "No such desire has been expressed in any serious protest or internal risings by Goan Nationals."[49]

At the time of Liberation and for some time thereafter, not all Goans had a Portuguese or Indian identity. Indeed, some were not supportive of Goa being part of either nation. Others believed that Goa traded Portuguese colonialism for Indian colonialism. In Homework, by Sumeeta Peres Da Costa, Mina, the main character, is the daughter of Goans who immigrated to Australia. Her father sees his identity as being neither Portuguese nor Indian but distinctly Goan. He made his children respond to the question, "Where are you from?" with the answer, "Goa."[50] Mina states: "I was to explain that since Goa was illegally confiscated by the Indian state, my allegiance was technically not Indian but Portuguese."[51] Her father's belief that Goa should be independent from India was so strong that he compared Goa with other separatist groups such as the Sikhs, the Tamil Tigers, the Basques, and the Sinn Fein.[52]

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[47] Boman-Behram, Goa and Ourselves,, 36-37.
[48] Boman-Behram, Goa and Ourselves, 22.
[49] Boman-Behram, Goa and Ourselves, 32.
[50] Da Costa, Homework, 156.
[51] Da Costa, Homework, 156.
[52] Da Costa, Homework, 155.

In Liberation: A Novel, Jorge Ataide Lobo describes the conflicting definitions of Goan identity and how quickly Goans can change their identity. In his novel Celina, a teacher in an English school, declares that she is not interested in joining the Liberation Movement against the Portuguese. She is offended and angry when Dinanath tells her she should support the movement because she is Indian:

> Indian! You offend me. I am Portuguese. I want Goa…our beautiful, peaceful Goa to continue Portuguese. You scum, you good-for-nothing idiots come here and incite the poor and ignorant. Do you think I am one of them? Do you think you can bribe me with your sweet talk? Get out…get out, I say and leave me alone. [53]

Diananath is determined not to leave her alone and states that her temper and passion will make her a good revolutionary. He asks her to keep and open mind and to think about joining them. After Celina cools off, she thinks about the Liberation Movement rationally, quickly has a change of heart and identity, and decides to join the Revolutionaries.[54] The author, however, also states that Goan identity is so distinct that it is truly neither Portuguese nor Indian but a mixture of the two. Lobo believes that Goans created a new consciousness from the values of the past with the new values of the present. This new consciousness is so distinctly Goan that it is, in reality, an Indian subnationality:

> Politically, we were Portuguese citizens, but we knew our territory was a colony. We could not call ourselves Indians, we did not feel

[53] Lobo, Liberation: A Novel, 107.
[54] Lobo, Liberation: A Novel, 107.

> we were really Portuguese. Then we created this conciousness of Goans. We were neither Indian nor Portuguese. We were Goans. We created for us a sort of subnationality.[55]

The view that Goans created this new attitude from the values of the past with the new values of the present to create a distinct Goan identity is a common theme in some Goan thought.

What seems like a contradiction in how Goans perceive their identity, the problem is that is not only is change inevitable, but also that identity is defined differently by different people. Identity can change over time, and that identity can change within a person. The autobiography of Telo de Mascarenhas, When the Mango Trees Blossomed is a good example of changing identity. He began his life under the Portuguese colonial system, grew up in Goa and, like many Goans, had to go to Bombay or abroad to further his education. First he studied in Lisbon, went to law school in Coimbra, became a Public Prosecutor in Alentejo, and a Magistrate of Public Faith in the Algarve, and marries a Portuguese woman.[56] His government position allows him the time to read about India and Indian culture and he began to change his views on Goa. [57] He states:

> We Goans who had had our education in Goa were ignorant of everything which was ours. But we were taught the history of Portugal….Once in Portugal my schoolfellows and I read enthusiastically about India…which in Goa we were unable to do owing to the lack of texts, and because it was forbidden for us to do so for political reasons.[58]

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[55] Lobo, Liberation: A Novel, 222-223.
[56] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed, 68-80.
[57] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed, 80.
[58] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed, 60.

As De Mascarenhas' political views changed in favor of Goa being independent from Portugal, so does his personal life. His marriage to the Portuguese woman ends in divorce, his oldest daughter dies of pneumonia, and his younger daughter stays in Lisbon and becomes a teacher. De Mascarenhas reveals that he no longer has a Portuguese identity but an Indian one. He states:

> Eventually both of us realized that my own people had been right, and that wedlock with a foreigner was indeed 'nonsense'. We Indians are quite different from the people of other continents, both in temperament and in mental in spiritual outlook…Indian women still preserve the virtues, though to a lesser extent now than in days gone by of patience, a sense of duty and forbearance associated with the legendary figures of yore. Kunti, Sita, Draupadi, Savutru and so many others-qualities that are so necessary for the maintenance of peace and good understanding in family life.[59]

De Mascarenhas next decides to go to Goa by way of Bombay to start his pro-Goan political career by running Resurge,Goa!, a Goan Independence newspaper.[60] After India gets its independence from England, he takes a long leave from his Portuguese government job rather than resigning because he believes taking a leave of absence is politically less suspicious.[61] His leave of absence, however, would come back to haunt him because the Portuguese government would use it against him. As soon as he returns to Goa, the authorities were looking for him:

> The police in Goa, who had filed as criminal evidence with which to charge-sheet me, all the manuscripts, messages and poems I had sent to Bombay to the local newspapers, were

[59] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed, 83-84.
[60] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed, 150.
[61] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed, 89.

> alarmed at my presence in Goa, and let loose their hounds on my heels.[62]

When the police asked De Mascarenhas to go to the police station, he refused claiming that he is a Portuguese magistrate on leave and he would need the permission from the Ministry to go to any police station or court.[63] Nevertheless, a warrant is issued for his arrest. To avoid arrest he returns to Bombay where he continues his political writings and publishes anti-colonial leaflets.[64] De Mascarenhas continues to voice his anti-Portuguese political views and mades a radio speech stating that Goa would have maintained ties with Portugal if they could have an Indian identity:

> If Salazar had listened to our longings expressed in my message, and if afterwards he had not been so stubborn deliberately closing his eyes to realities, he would have averted much suffering and hardship from the poor Goans; Portugal could have maintained Goa in her language, her culture and her way of life; and Goans would have been happy living without resentment, maintaining their identity within India as Indians integrated in the mainstream of the country's life.[65]

In an attempt to stop De Mascarenha's political activities, the Portuguese government recalls him to resume his official position. He refuses, gets fired, becomes the editor of the nationalist paper "Ressurge, Goa!", and marries an Indian woman in

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[62] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed, 144.
[63] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed, 145.
[64] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed, 145-147.
[65] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed ,153.

New Delhi.[66] Mascarenhas returns to Goa where he is arrested, deported to Lisbon and spends many years in jail as a political prisoner. De Mascarenhas writes about his time in prison, "I was a notorious prisoner, not only because I was a Goan nationalist, but also because I had been awarded the highest maximum sentence by the political Plenary court."[67] Amnesty International, the Indian government, and the president of the International Red Cross try to secure his release without success.[68]After President Salazar dies, he is finally released from prison after serving ten years. [69] The author returns to Goa and it becmes part of India.

Although race is not raised as an identity issue by other Goan authors, Margaret Mascarenhas' Skin focuses on a different aspect of Goan identity. Unlike other novels about Goans, Mascarenhas' novel of one of the few that reveals that race is an aspect of Goan identity. The main character of her novel, Pagan, is originally Goan; but she was reared in the United States. When she visits her grandmother in Goa, she discovers not only her heritage, but also the skeletons in her family tree. She is not the biological daughter of her parents, she is the fair-skinned biracial product of her uncle's relationship with a servant of African descent. At first she is confused when she believes that her grandmother does not recognize her. Her aunt reproves Pagan for her appearance: "She recognized you. She just didn't want to acknowledge your skin. It is because you are

[66] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed, 144-147.
[67] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed, 230.
[68] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed, 245.
[69] De Mascarenhas, MangoTrees Blossomed, 253.

tanned like a coconut from your travels under the Angolan sun."[70] Pagan does not understand why her skin color matters to her grandmother until she discovers that she is of mixed heritage. Pagan's grandmother states that even though she did not have much for a dowry, she was able to marry a wealthy man because of her fair skin.[71] The grandmother does not understand why Pagan does not appreciate her fair skin and her Goan heritage and use it to her advantage:

> Because of my efforts, as well as my superior genes, Maria (Pagan's Christian name) is perceived as a legitimate white woman in the white world; and as an aristocrat in Goa. Still she would defy me….Baking herself in the sun like a raisin. Stupid girl. Why should I recognize her?[72]

The grandmother's comments indicate that she believes that being fair skinned is an essential part of being part of the Goan upper class. She neither recognizes Pagan's other heritage, nor does she acknowledge her upbringing in the United States. What is important to the grandmother is that she sees Pagan as Goan, therefore Pagan should act Goan, and in this case, Goan is defined as being upper class, with fair skin and of Portuguese descent. The grandmother's view reflects certain fundamental aspects of the social system that remained unchanged: views about race and social status. She is incapable of admitting the other half of Pagan's genetic inheritance and the low social status of her other grandmother.

While most Goan literature that discusses Goan identity focuses on the time period before Goa became part of India or during the Liberation struggle, The Greater

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[70] Margaret Mascarenhas, Skin, 34.
[71] Margaret Mascarenhas, Skin, 195-196.
[72] Margaret Mascarenhas, Skin, 196.

Tragedy, a play by Lambert Mascarenhas, discusses Goan identity after Goa became part of India. The character Artimizia declares that Goa should have become independent and that Goans are losing their unique identity:[73] "I do not deny that bridges, hotels, industries have been established in Goa after Liberation but we have lost our peace and the Goan people their Goanness."[74] He further claims that he was happier during the Portuguese dictatorial rule and than he is in a post-Liberation Indian democracy.[75] Anil, another character, agrees with Atimizia that Goans have changed after Liberation, "but you must know the fact that the entire fabric of Goan society has become rotten and thus decaying since Liberation."[76] He says to his grandfather, Manuel Antonio, that corruption has become a way of life in Goa now and that it is a post-liberation import from India.[77]

Identity does not remain static, but instead it constantly undergoes changes; even among generations, there are differences between attitudes and opinions. Goa became part of India over 40 years ago, but there are still Goans who view themselves as "Portuguese." Most Goans, however, view themselves as being Goan or Indian or both. While identifying with the Portuguese and having Portuguese citizenship was a debated issue before and during Liberation, most Goans today do not believe they are Portuguese. There are Goans, however, who continue to speak Portuguese and still love some aspects of Portuguese culture, but they do not claim to have a Portuguese identity.

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[73] Lambert Mascarenhas, The Greater Tragedy,13.
[74] Lambert Mascarenhas, The Greater Tragedy,11.
[75] Lambert Mascarenhas, The Greater Tragedy, 10.
[76] Lambert Mascarenhas, The Greater Tragedy, 80.
[77] Lambert Mascarenhas, The Greater Tragedy, 4.

Victor Rangel Ribeiro, a Goan writer, explains that their identity is similar to those who are French speakers in Louisiana. They have a distinct culture, but they are definitely Americans. Many Goans view themselves the same way. They have a distinct culture, but they are Indians.[78] Others view Goan identity as being similar to that of Puerto Ricans. They have a Puerto Rican identity but see no contradiction in being American.

While the borders of Goa have long been established, Goan identity will continue to be complex and controversial. As more time goes by, however, Portuguese influence will continue to decrease. Fewer Goans are learning Portuguese, although it is now being taught at the University in Panaji (Panjim). More migrants are moving into Goa from other parts of India, and more Goans are leaving to work and be educated abroad. Because of the huge changes Goa is now undergoing, the issue of who is a Goan, and Goan identity will continue to change.

[78] Victor Rangel Ribeiro. Personal Interview.

CHAPTER 2

GOAN IDENTITY: DEFINED BY LANGUAGE CHOICE

The language debate in Goa is ongoing with the supporters of Konkani and Marathi continuing their arguments for the language he or she favors although the issue was supposed to been settled in 1987. The choice of an official state language indicated the choice of an identity in Goa,[79] but the belief that having an official language to establish a separate identity is a concept that began in the nineteenth century. Benedict Anderson states that until the nineteenth century, political boundaries in Europe almost never coincided with language communities. Most literate Europeans communicated in different languages and no one believed that those languages belonged to any defined group.[80] As more people became conscious of defining themselves in terms of their nationality, language became an important issue in many nationalist movements, including Goa.[81]

In order to achieve state status Goa had to decide which of the two native languages, Marathi or Konkani, would be the official one. The majority of voters decided in the Opinion Pole of 1967 that Konkani should be the State language. This vote, however, did not end the controversy. In 1982 Konkoni became the official language of Goa and was recognized in 1992 as one of the official languages of India. Some Goans believe that Portuguese should be eradicated in Goa because it is used only by the upper class and it is not a useful language to learn. In reality, the number of Portuguese speakers in Goa is declining and the language debate today is really between Marathi and Konkani. While Marathi has been taught for many years in

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[79] Childs and Williams, Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory, 193.
[80] Anderson, Imagined Communities, 196.
[81] Anderson, Imagined Communities, 196-197.

Goan schools, it is identified as part of a Maharastran identity. Because politicians used the Marathi issue to argue that Goa should be part of Maharastra, many Goans fear they will lose their Goan identity if Marathi becomes the official language. As Robert S. Newman points out, choosing Konkani as the official language marked official recognition of Goan identity.[82] The language debate continues. At times it has been so heated that protests have erupted into violence. Opinions about this issue can be found in all manner of written writings: novels, periodicals, essays, editorial sections of newspapers, and on the Internet. Most of the opinions support the position that Konkani and not Marathi should be the official language and that Konkani is an essential part of their identity.

Linguistically Goans are not unified. Luis S. Rita Vas divides the people into three linguistic groups: Those who have had a Portuguese identity and speak both Portuguese and Konkani. These people are called *assimilados* ("the assimilated"). During Portuguese rule, there was no dispute that Portuguese was the official language; today Portuguese in Goa is a dying language although it is taught as a foreign language at Goa University. The second group consists of Marathi speakers who are usually the descendent of Hindus who resisted foreign rule and the imposition of Portuguese culture and language. The third group speaks only speaks Konkani and is comprised of both Hindus and Christians who have adopted Portuguese customs such as music, the cuisine, and architecture into their culture. They live in the areas that were the last to be conquered by the Portuguese, close to the state of Maharastra.[83]

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[82] Newman, "Konkani Mai Ascends the Throne," 55.
[83] Vas, Modern Goan Short Stories, viii.

Language is such an important issue in Goa because "it is not merely a creative device, but it also has implications for cultural identity."[84] This conflict was not really a serious problem until after Liberation in 1962 when Portuguese was no longer an official language. Goans became divided and many supporters of Konkani and Maratha wrote propaganda in support of one language or the other. The Marathi versus Konkani debate became such a political hot potato that it is still being fiercely debated today. While a native language is an essential part of Goan identity, some Goans advocate that it is more important to learn English in order to communicate and conduct business in the world. Indeed, it is widely studied and spoken in Goa. The language issue, however, has broad implications. The majority of Christians and Hindus in South Goa favor Konkani while the Hindus in North Goa near Maharastra favor Marathi. In addition to being an identity issue, it also seems to be a political control issue. Rubinoff points out that before Goa became a state, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi stated that Goa lacked the maturity for statehood and that the language issue had to be resolved before statehood would be granted.[85]

After Goa became part of India, it first became a territory rather than a state, but many Goans believed that territory status was the same as second class citizenship. This belief has merit because union territories in India are totally controlled financially by New Delhi. In addition, the government in New Delhi could intervene or delay legislation, and it controlled the judicial system. Because the Federal government was slow to respond to the problems in Goa, many Goan politicians pushed for statehood. Other politicians advocated a merger with the state

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[84] Arthur Rubinoff, Political Community, 116.
[85] Arthur Rubinoff, Political Community, 118.

of Maharastra. Advocates for statehood believed it would advance the development of Konkani, but "[a]s Konkani has five different scripts, a separate state with a single language would not have necessarily have promoted the language's development."[86] A secondary problem arose in the use of English in administration and as a neutral language to avoid having to choose between Konkani and Marathi.[87]

The First Provincial Congress in 1916 approved elementary education in Konkani. The first government schools in Konkani, however, were opened after Liberation in 1962, but the local parish schools taught Konkani. In the later half of the nineteenth century, migrants to Bombay and Pune established a journal, and religious and other works were written in the Roman script. The language of worship in the Christian community continued to be Konkani.[88] Prabhakar S. Angle examines the history of education system in Goa and states that formal Marathi education began in Mapusa in 1890 and other Marathi schools opened quickly after the first one. The Portuguese then opened bilingual "Luso Marathi" (Portuguese/Marathi) schools, but they were not successful. Angle declares that the Marathi schools were important because they were private and paid for by the Hindus in order to educate their children in their "mother tongue."[89] The author states that, "for a long time Hindus have been imparting primary education to their children in Marathi."[90] "Christians, barring a few exceptions, did not learn Konkani either; instead, they sent their children to Portuguese or English medium schools."[91] The author

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[86] Arthur Rubinoff, Political Community, 117.
[87] Arthur Rubinoff, Political Community, 117.
[88] Couto., "Foreword", xvi-xvii.
[89] Angle, Goa Concepts and Misconcepts, 69.
[90] Angle, Goa Concepts and Misconcepts, 69
[91] Vas, "Introduction",viii.

writes that Christians had the advantage of parish schools run by Church authorities, but Hindus did not have access to these schools so they supported Marathi schools instead. He insists that it wasn't until the 1930s that some people believed that Konkani was not a dialect of Marathi, but a separate language. Supporters of Konkani began to claim that Konkani was the mother tongue of all Goans[92] It is interesting that Angle declares that an education in Marathi is a custom that only Hindus follow. He presents nothing in support of this statement, and the language debate as reflected in the novels set in the forties and fifties does not support such a statement. In Angela's Goan Identity,[93] the child's Christian parents are criticized for sending their child to a Marathi elementary school. The changes in Angela's identity and the concomitant political changes in Goa are shown by the different languages in which she is educated, her relationship with other people, and how the language they use defines their identity.

Margaret Drucker's novel Mangoes and Chappaties, set during the period of British Rule in India, satirizes a family's struggle to handle the language controversy. When the family is residing in Goa, the Constancio's mother initiates a conversation from the previous day and asks: "What use is Portuguese. Who's going to Portugal?....[The father takes over and add]s: "Its true; few Goans know Portuguese. We use Konkani everywhere, with Hindu Goan, Catholic Goan, and Muslim Goan. We need Portuguese only for Salazar [the Portuguese ruler]"[94]. His wife then replied that it is better to know English for India rather than Portuguese or Konkani when living in India". Constancio, the son, has aspirations to move up the social ladder relocates

[92] Angle, Goa Concepts and Misconcepts, 69.
[93] Carmo D'Souza, Angela's Goan Identity, 13.
[94] Drucker, Mangoes and Chappaties, 17

to Bangalore for better opportunities. He is disgusted that a cousin, who speaks fluent English, does not use his language skills to his advantage:

> Constancio was consumed and irritated that Reuther could be so satisfied, without portfolio, degree, money, recognition, titles--no nothing. And strangely, no disgrace. With his knowledge and confidence he could be a college professor instead of providing free English classes in a beat-up reading room.[95]

Constancio resolves that his family will learn English. Drucker satirizes the language controversy by having Constantino make up a complicated set of rules; his wife could only speak English to their daughter, but if she is speaking to another person in the daughter's presence, she had to speak Konkani, and finally she was to speak only English with him. He believes his children will learn Konkani if they hear their mother speaking it with other people.[96] His hilarious set of complicated rules emphasize learning English and fitting into British India.

After the Goan Assembly passed the Official Languages Bill in 1986 which made Konkani in the Devanagari script the official language, it also provided for the use of Marathi in Goa and Gujarati in Daman and Diu. In reality, "[n]o political party got what it wanted, as the Goa Congress had fought for Konkani with Roman script and the MGP party championed Marathi. In reality the issue was moot, as English was entrenched as the language of both education and administration."[97]

The official language controversy was ultimately decided in an historic Opinion Poll held on January 16th 1967, to decide whether Goa would become part of Maharastra:

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[95] Drucker, Mangoes and Chappaties, 64.
[96] Drucker, Mangoes and Chappaties, 73.
[97] Arthur Rubinoff, Political Community, 119.

> [The Opinion Poll] [w]as itself unique and the only one of its kind in the history of independent India. Other states in the country like Maharastra and Andhra Pradesh and more recently, Jharkand and Uttaranchal got recognition of their unique and distinct identity by agitational methods….Andrah Pradesh was delinked from the Madras presidency after a long and bitter struggle. It was only in Goa that conflicting demands on whether Goa should retain its unique and distinct identity or should be merged with Maharastra was decided democratically.[98]

Konkani supporters won the Opinion Poll, but it was a very narrow margin of only 30,000 votes. If the Marathi supporters had won, Goa would have become a district or a *taluka* of Maharastra. According to Mog Assum Rajan Narayan, "[t]he unique and distinct identity of Goa would have been forever destroyed. Indeed, there would have been no Goa except for the valiant fight put up secular minded Goans cutting across linguistic and ethnic barriers."[99]

An examination of other forms of Goan literature written between 1944 and the present reflects a language debate that is ongoing. In 1944 an anti-Portuguese pamphlet, The Denationalization of Goans, published by the Goa Congress Committee, argued that Goans were not interested in the Marathi/ Konkani language debate because the educated class abhors using local languages and prefers Portuguese.[100] Overlooking the fact that the bureaucracy used Portuguese, the group argues that Portuguese is not a very useful language to learn. At the time this document was written, it was not used for business. The authors also point out the deficiencies of a Portuguese education. At that time there were no scientific or technological texts in Portuguese, but instead French texts were used in the classroom.[101]

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[98] Narayan, "Essence of Goan Identity,"
[99] Narayan. "Essence of Goan Identity,"
[100] Goa Congress Committee, Denationalization of Goa, 45.
[101] Goa Congress Committee, Denationalization of Goa, 47.

A.K. Priolkar's Goa: Facts versus Fiction, published in 1962, is a pro-Marathi argument wherein the author claims that Goan identity is a really Maharastran one, and Goa should become part of the state of Maharastra. The author argues that Goa does not have a separate identity:

> In the 'New Conquests'…the impact of Portuguese culture has been superficial and slight, and the way of the people in the neighboring Indian territories. It is a mistake, therefore to consider the present Goa as a homogeneous area having a distinctive cultural identity.[102]

There are two flaws in Prilokar's arguments. He does not take into account the Old Conquests which were greatly impacted by Portuguese rule, and he uses only the New Conquest areas to make the assumption that all of the areas of Goa have the same Marathi identity. Goa: Facts versus Fiction does not offer any comparisons or data on other areas of India to support the claim that Goan culture is a Marathi one.

On the Marathi side of the argument, the author states that Konkani is an old dialect of Marathi. He points out that Jesuits called it the "Lingua Bramana" or high Marathi. The term Konkani also means Hindus in Goa, as well as people from the Konkane region. Konkani also varies with each locality as well as between castes. The author argues that there is no remaining pre-Portuguese literature in Konkani, not because it didn't survive, but because none existed. It was all in Marathi. He states, "there is lots evidence of a positive character to show that Marathi has always been the only literary language of Goa."[103] Priolkar also argues that Marathi, not Konkani, should be the official language because the use of local dialects will divide the nation;

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[102] Priolkar, Goa: Fact versus Fiction, 8.
[103] Priolkar, Goa: Facts versus Fiction, 23.

what is needed is a standard language. Although Hindi is an official national language, it is only used in part of India. The author is convinced that scholars who are against Marathi are against the language because they suffered from discrimination when they left Goa to live in Bombay.[104] This is a very weak argument because no statistics, oral histories, or other data to substantiate this claim. Proving a discrimination claim would be difficult because there is no supporting data to show that it caused them to oppose to Marathi as the state language of Goa.

One point that the author does make is that if Konkani became the official state language it could be a problem because it is written four different ways: Devanagari, Kannada, Malayalam, and Roman scripts: "[i]f Konkani is selected, they will have to face a host of problems, such as the choice of the form of Konkani to be used in schools, choice of script, etc…. any change should be implemented gradually to allow time for the views of the Christian community to crystallise (sic)…[and to] avoid taking any decisions which would prejudice the issue."[105] Prilokar's view seems to be a reasonable approach, but it does not take into consideration that the majority of Goans prefer Konkani rather than Marathi.

In the introduction to Ferry Crossing: Short Stories from Goa, Manohar Shetty explains the reason Marathi became a popular language in Goa:

> While Konkani was laid low for centuries by the Inquisition, Marathi was kept alive as the language of the princely courts. It was also the language in which the Hindu scriptures were preserved during the height of Portuguese religious repression. [106]

[104].Priolkar, Goa: Facts versus Fiction, 12.
[105] Priolkar, Goa: Facts versus Fiction, 46
[106] Shetty, "Introduction", xv.

Shetty continues to explain that by the time of the Conquest of the northern parts of Goa, near the state of Maharastra, the Portuguese position on learning local languages had softened. Marathi thrived in the northern part of Goa, and the Goan administration used it as an official language. Shetty also states that the battle between Marathi and Konkani divided Goa and until recently prevented the production of high quality literature. He believes, "[t]he responsibility of creating a tradition, at least in the area of fiction, rests on the current crop of writers."[107]

In My Goa: An Autobiography, Luizinho Faleiro, a Goan politician, reveals himself to be a staunch supporter of Konkani. In 1982, he drafted a resolution to not only make Konkani the state language, but also to develop a Konkani academy. Faleiro describes his two main political goals in Goa were the promotion of Konkani and Goan statehood. To obtain more support for Konkani, he states, "I interacted with Konkani lovers, writers, thinkers, playwrights."[108] The Konkani movement was a way in which Goa could oust the Maharastran Gomantak Party, also called the MGP, which was Pro-Marathi, and wanted to merge Goa with Maharastra. Faleiro asks: "Who…would redeem Goa from the disastrous effects of the well-intentioned but hopelessly misdirected and tragically executed MGP policies between 1963 and 1979?"[109] Faleiro describes the chaotic situation that some Konkani supporters faced:

> Eventually but finally under pressure, Chief Minster Rane, who was not really a Konkani apostle, accepted our logic. All of the other ministers were equally luke-warm. It was only when people virtually attacked them that they ran to New Delhi and said, "no, we can't go back to Goa without an assurance on Konkani. They

[107] Shetty, "Introduction," xvi.
[108] Faleiro, My Goa, 56.
[109] Faleiro, My Goa, 54.

> had been physically attacked by the people. Francisco Sardinha's house had been ransacked. Pronto Barbosa's house had been ransacked… [110]

Robert S. Newman points out that an early move to merge Goa with Maharastra was defeated in 1967. The MGP, however, remained in power until 1979, but at the end of its power, it was perceived by the people as being corrupt, dominated by one person, and in favor of only lower caste Hindus.[111]

Despite what earlier writers such as A.K. Priolkar contend, Marathi has not always been more popular than Konkani. Since liberation, Konkani has become more popular. Sharmila Kamat declares: "Everyone is speaking Konkani nowadays."[112] Mango Mood, a collection of "tongue-in-cheek" essays by Kamat, (published in 1995), were originally written as contributions to newspapers and magazines, about different aspects of Goan society. She discusses the problems of establishing an official language in the essay "Tongue of Violence" (written about 1990), and states that the language issue in Goa and the attendant problems resulted from the increased popularity in learning Konkani. "Konkani has progressed from being not merely a tongue for discussion but the tongue under discussion."[113] Kamat argues that the new popularity of Konkani has caused new political agitations and violent protests by parents. As a result of the violence, the author argues, young students are learning that violence is the language of choice.

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[110] Faleiro, My Goa, 95.
[111] Newman, "Goa: Transformation," 22.
[112] Kamat "Tongue of Violence," 34.
[113] Kamat, "Tongue of Violence," 34.

She sarcastically declares that violence is a language that does not have a difficult time finding instructors; it is one language that has widespread support of all aspects of Goan society.[114]

Another Konkani supporter, Nora Secco de Sousa, states that there is no longer a controversy between Konkani and Marathi. According to her, "If the Sahitya Akademi, a supreme senate of experts of Indian literature, has recognized Konkani as an independent language than (sic) the controversy about it being a dialect of Marathi or a full-fledged language no longer exists."[115] The author declares that Konkani is one of India's oldest Indo-Aryan languages and was one of the first to publish a modern grammar. According to her, Konkani needed to be constitutionally recognized for Goa's benefit:

> Thus it is imperative that it should be… made the official language of Goa, as it [is the] only … Constitutionally recognized languages(sic) [that] has the Government patronses, supports and readers full assistance to. It is only in this way that Goan interests can be protected, the sons of the soil assured of employment opportunities, and the homeland saved. This is an S.O.S. so Goans awaken and show that you are not all the 'susegad' as you seem.[116]

Ironically, the 1962 defeat of the proposed merger between Goa and Maharastra, the MGP made a complete about-face. They declared their support for statehood, a separate Goan university, and the recognition of Konkani as one of the constitutionally recognized national languages.[117]

The issue of whether Marathi or Konkani should be the official language is still a hotly contested issue. In June 2000, the periodical Goa Today published the opinions of ten Goans on

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[114] Shamat, "Tongue of Violence," 35.
[115] De Sousa, "Konknni My Mother Tongue," 71.
[116] De Sousa, "Konknni My Mother Tongue," 71.
[117] Newman, "Goa: Transformation," 22.

whether Goa should become a bilingual state and give Marathi equal status as Konkani. Of the ten people interviewed, eight of them believe that Marathi should not be an official state language in Goa. The one person who believed that Marathi should be an official language stated that he believed Konkani and Marathi enjoyed equal status under the Official Language Act, but that was not the case after which the court ruled otherwise. Gopalrao Mayekar declared, "For centuries …the Marathi language had a predominating position in multifarious aspects of Goan life."[118] He continues by pointing out that there is a rich history of Marathi literature and that Marathi was the language of instruction for many years. He states that Marathi is so important to Goan Hindus that they have always used Marathi for rituals and self expression.[119] Mayekar continues with the argument that Marathi is a crucial part of Goa history, "[e]ven the freedom movement and social reforms had taken inspiration from [the] Marathi language."[120]

Manohar Hirba Sardessi, another Marathi supporter, believed both languages are part of the heritage of Goans, therefore, both languages should be cherished by giving them equal status as official state languages.[121] He also felt that Marathi should have equal status because it has a strong relationship with Konkani . He says: "I feel that Konkani is nothing but undeveloped Marathi language."[122] Sardessai explains that the Portuguese Conquistadors used Marathi Father because Father Thomas Stephens (1549-1619) wanted to use a unified language when he wrote The Life of Jesus so that people in different regions of the state could read it.[123] Marathi did not

[118] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 36.
[119] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 36.
[120] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 36.
[121] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 37.
[122] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 37.
[123] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 37.

have several dialects, but Konkani had two, a coastal dialect, Canarim, and the more developed Brahmanic Canarim.[124]

On the other side of the language debate, Konkani supporters argue that Konkani should be the official language of Goa because it is spoken by ninety five percent of Goans. Sudha Amonkar, an educator, declares that, "Goa is a small state and 95 per cent of the people speak Konkani, dream Konkani and think Konkani. Although some people say that they speak Marathi, their thinking will definitely be in Konkani."[125] She continues by stating that this issue was decided a long time ago and that it is an issue today only because certain politicians use this issue for their own agenda. She is adamant that Goa should only have one state language because, "[a]ll other States in India have only one official language and so should Goa."[126]

Another Konkani supporter also points out that even though the language issue was settled in the 1980s, Marathi continues to be used for all official purposes. Naguesh Karmali states that under the Language Act, Marathi is permitted for all official purposes and N. Shidas challenges Marathi supporters to provide proof of where its use is prohibited. He says, "In fact all press notes, literature of publicity, official invitations issued by the Information Department are in English and Marathi, and not in Konkani."[127] He declares that he does not believe the arguments "that if Marathi is not given equal status as Konkani, it will be removed from educational, literary fields is pure nonsense.[128] He finds the argument to be flawed because the

[124] Naik, "Marathi? No way!"37.
[125] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 37
[126] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 37.
[127] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 37.
[128] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 37.

Portuguese permitted Marathi to be used.[129] According to N. Shivdas, Marathi should not get much support because supporters have changed their stand repeatedly on the language issue. At first they claimed that Marathi was a dialect of Konkani, and after they were unable to get Goa to merge with Maharastra, they declared that Konkani was a separate language.[130] Shivdas hopes that "in the end they will realise that they are in fact Konkani speaking people and [that] Konkani is their language."[131] M. Boyer points out that Konkani really is the language of Marathi speakers in Goa because, "[t]he hilarious irony is that these Marathi protagonists speak in Konkani while demanding equal status for Marathi."[132]

The controversy over which language should be the official one of Goa and which should be taught in primary schools does not seem to be dwindling. In 2003, in the Cyber Voices section of the Navhind Times on the Web, several Goans have expressed their strong opinions either for Konkani or for Marathi. Niraj George, a Konkani supporter, writes the catchy slogan, "Goa for Konkani!! Konkani for Goa!!"[133] He firmly believes that Konkani can be the only language for Goa because, "[t]he spoken language of the state is the official language of the state." He also states that Marathi is a dialect of Konkani (rather than the other way around) and that Marathi supporters should go to Maharastra because it is a non-Goan language.[134]

William 'fire' Apechu believes that the only reason the Marathi/Konkani debate continues is because of "misguided, power hungry language chauvinists." He criticizes

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[129] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 38.
[130] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 37-38.
[131] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 38.
[132] Naik, "Marathi? No way!" 38.
[133] George, "Cyber Voices."
[134] George, "Cyber Voices."

politicians who send their own children to elite English schools, yet they "cry loud and clear about the 'merits' of providing education in some unimportant language.[135] Apechu continues with his criticism by stating that learning a local language will create a mass of Goans who are unemployable and have a state that will be unable to conduct business with the rest of the world.[136] "Goa would do well to ignore such languages that have died a long time ago as far as the written word is concerned…and concentrate on our present language English and do as best as we can with it."[137]

Ravikant Anand Bhat believes that neither Konkani nor Marathi should be criticized, but he disagrees that English should be the medium of instruction instead of local languages. While learning English is essential in order to conduct business, the problem with English is that it is a foreign language and it brings with it a foreign culture.[138] Konkani is not a dead language because more people are conducting research on it. Konkani grammars are being written and literary works are being translated from Hindi into Konkani.[139]

Another writer, Romeo Raposo, believes that politicians are using the language debate as way to continue the fight for a merger with Maharastra. He declares, "They [Marathi supporters] wanted to merge Goa with Maharastra and when it proved futile, they are now trying to saddle the language from another state to ours."[140] Nikhil Burde agrees that politicians are deliberately keeping the issue alive: "It is easy for the politicians to make such statement to gather support

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[135] Apechu, "Cyber Voices."
[136] Apechu, "Cyber Voices."
[137] Apechu, "Cyber Voices."
[138] Bhat,. "CyberVoices"
[139] Bhat. "Cyber Voices."
[140] Raposo,. "CyberVoices"

from [a]gullible public by fanning their emotions."[141] Burde offers a solution on how to eliminate the language issue from being used by politicians; let the people of Goa decide in which language they want their children educated.[142]

While the Marathi-Konkani debate continues in Goa, it is not an identity issue for those who have emigrated. Karin Larsen states that, "Among migrated Goans, their mother tongue Konkani has fallen out of use amongst the younger generation, especially in an urban environment like Bangalore where English is the language of employment." The trend towards using English instead of Konkani has affected the spread and growth of Konkani. For example, a Konkani theater group in Bangalore did not fare well before a Goan audience because people there did not understand Konkani well enough to understand the humor.[143] Goan authors who live outside of Goa and write in English include Lino Leitao, Victor Rangel Ribeiro, and Peter Nazareth.

Although many Goans are learning English, most of them believe that learning a native language is crucial to maintaining their culture and unique identity. The language issue has been a controversial topic for about fifty years, but it is resurrected periodically.. There are many people who feel that preserving the native language of their particular heritage, be it Christian or Hindu, is an important aspect of preserving their Goan identity. As many Goans live abroad for a period of time and then either return or stay in their adopted country, they do not seem to be as concerned about the language issue. Many have adopted a third identity be it Canadian, Australian, American, or that of another country and realize that their children do not have the

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[141] Burde, "CyberVoices"
[142] Burde, "Cyber Voices."
[143] Larsen, Faces of Goa, 378.

same emotional ties to Goa, and do not identify themselves by language. Many Goans who remain in Goa believe that there should not be a language debate because learning English is more important. It is studied in school, widely spoken, and used in business, especially in the lucrative tourist industry. Some have become cynical and feel that the language issue has been resolved and it is the politicians who keep the controversy alive to serve their own political goals. Nevertheless, many Goans feel that their native language, be it Marathi or Konkani, it an important part of what makes a Goan a Goan.

CHAPTER 3

GOAN IDENTITY: THE ANCESTRAL HOME AND EXPATRIATS

The Village Home

When Goa was conquered by the Portuguese in 1510, they made it the center of their maritime empire which stretched from the east coast of Africa to Malacca, and it became a major Christian center. The population was about 60,000 in the 1580's and by 1600 the population stood at approximately 75,000.[144] In the seventeenth century Portugal's fortunes began to decline, ships could no longer dock at the city of Goa because of the silting problem in the Mandovi River, and disease reduced the population until it stood at 20,000 by 1700. In 1751 the viceroy moved to Panjim (present day Panaji) and the population followed the viceroy. In 1843 it became the capital of Goa. Present day Velha Goa is an historic site and Panaji boats a population of more than 100,000 and is the largest city in the state. It is estimated that approximately forty-one percent of the population of 1.2 million live in urban areas as there has been a large migration to the cities and towns.[145] Since Liberation the urban population has experience a fourfold increase. Not all the urban growth has been caused by migrating Goans and natural population increase; there has been an influx of migrants from other parts of India. In addition to industrial growth and tourism, the mining industry continues to play a large role in Goa's economy and is largely responsible for reducing the exodus of job seekers to the urban areas.[146]

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[144] M.N. Pearson, The Indian Ocean, 155.
[145] Angle, An Economic Update, 23.
[146] Angle, An Economic Update, 80.

In spite of the increase in industry, Goa has always been largely comprised of small agriculture-based communities:

> Next to language the most distinctive feature of Goan society is the millennial institution of the *gauponn* or *communidade*. This village community is a peculiar and characteristic organization which has existed from the earliest times in Goa.[147]

While Goa's rulers may have changed from time to time, "the attachment and fidelity of Goans to their village is greater than their loyalty to the rulers."[148]

John Correia Afonso notes that the institution of *gauponn* was not abolished under the Portuguese as it was in India under the British. He feels that it is useful today as it embodies a tradition of equality and social justice. It has developed in the Goan a deep-rooted love for his village. It also serves as the basis for his activities: political, economic, social, educational and cultural.[149]

The family, especially one's ancestors, and the ancestral home are also an important part of Goan identity which has been explored extensively in Goan literature which explores the yearning to return to the village and the ancestral home. While the return from exile is a recurrent theme in the literature, a concurrent important theme is the importance of the ancestral home and the village. A family home that can be passed on to future generations in the family is the most prized possession a Goan can have. The short story "Back to the Village" by J.P. D'Souza. emphasizes the importance of returning to the ancestral home and the resulting problems for the younger generation who do not share the same emotional ties to the village as their father. The

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[147] Afonso, "To Cherish and to Share," 5.
[148] SarDessai, History of Konkani Literature, 7.
[149] Afonso, "To Cherish and to Share," 5.

main character Jacob D' Costa decides to retire early and leave Bombay after he is mugged on his way to work. Although he tells his wife he wishes to return to Goa because of the increase in crime in Bombay, in reality, he wants to return because of nostalgia: "Besides as one who was born in Goa, he looked with nostalgia to his ancestral land, as did most of his people. In this frame of mind he had decided to go back and settle in Goa."[150]Jacob's wife, also Goan, understands that Goan "roots reached deep down,"[151] but she is not happy that her husband wants to uproot the family to move back home. Expressing a common concern, she has reservations about disrupting their children's educations. Goa's educational system was deficient at that time. The date of the setting of this story cannot be determined, but it must be prior to the establishment of Goa University in 1985. The oldest son, like many Goans, must leave Goa to pursue an education in engineering. The daughter, Joan, cannot finish her education in Goa because she wants to go to the University to study English Literature. Her parents, however, believe she will be getting married soon so they pressure her to study teaching instead.[152] Representing the viewpoint of the younger generation, Joan's cousin, Anita, encourages her to pursue her education in spite of her parent's wishes: "If you can do anything about it, go back. You will stagnate here. What future do I have? Make the best marriage possible, and then settle down into a dull domesticity. Don't fall for that."[153] Anita knows that her father also abhors city life and believes that a "back to nature move" to a Goan village would be enriching for the family. For the children who are accustomed to life in a large cosmopolitan city, however, it

[150] D' Souza, "Back to the Village," 14.
[151] D' Souza, "Back to the Village," 14.
[152] D' Souza, "Back to the Village," 24-25.
[153] D' Souza, "Back to the Village," 30.

would be a dull and boring life.[154] Jacob represents the view of an older generation and is convinced that even with the problems of not having access to good educational facilities, public transportation, medical care and electricity, moving back to Goa is the right decision for the family because is a tie to their ancestral roots. After notifying his mother about his plans, his return to Goa becomes important news in the village. To the people in the village his return is exciting news; they have a wonderful time speculating about his reasons for returning and whether he is going to rebuild or extend the ancestral home. After family arrives in Goa, Jacob's children who are not accustomed to village life and the concomitant lack of privacy, are annoyed that they cannot unpack because friends and neighbors constantly drop by to greet them. While Jacob is happy to be back in Goa, he is devastated when he overhears Anita and Joan discussing how traditional their fathers are and how village life is dull and mundane. To Jacob living in his family's ancestral home is an essential part of his identity and he cannot understand the feelings of his children.

Another story by J.P. D'Souza, which emphasizes the importance of the ancestral home is "The Ruined House." It depicts the deterioration of an ancestral house and what happened to the children who were supposed to carry on the legacy. James, the main character, becomes interested in a ruined house, and decides to research the reasons the family allowed the house to deteriorate. He is puzzled because he remembered that when he was a child the house was beautiful and people lived in it. He is shocked that something so precious to a Goan family would fall into such awful condition:

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[154] D' Souza, "Back to the Village," 30.

> In traditional societies to maintain the family continuity was almost a duty.Was that not the reason marriage and children loomed so large in the lives of people in these societies even when they knew it was no bed of roses?[155]

The story implies that because the three children never married, the family disintegrated. The eldest son became a drunk, the daughter was spoiled and treated every potential suitor as if he were not good enough for her, and the youngest son was intimidated by the older brother. The author sets forth the traditional view that Goans should marry, live, and keep up the ancestral homeplace. In his opinion, if Goans do not marry and raise a family then their home, as well as their identity will disintegrate.

In a novel with a theme similar to that in Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart, the disintegration of a traditional village lifestyle is explored in Pundalink N. Naik's The Upheaval: Acchev. When a foreigner from Gujarat comes to the village with an offer of a "better way of life" namely the opening of a mine, the resultant changes cause the village to disintegrate. Past ritual become meaningless, children fail to attend school because of the easy money to be earned working in the mine, the daughter of the family becomes self-centered and lazy, the son moves out, doesn't marry and spends his money on alcohol and prostitutes. The man who brought the mine to the town rapes the daughter (symbolizing the rape and loss of dignity to the family). Morals decline to an extent that would be unthinkable in previous times, and leave the parents poor and unable to work. The message is clear: disintegration of the old lifestyle wrecks havoc on the family and is destructive to the village.

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[155] D'Souza, "The Ruined House,"40.

Frank Simoes' Glad Seasons in Goa, has a similar theme to J.P. D'Souza's "The Village Home." The author returns to Goa in the early nineties after living in Bombay and working as a journalist. He declares that his book it is "a personal memoir, no more. It is an account of a lifetime's odyssey, in the discovery of my ancestral roots and heritage."[156] But unlike D'Souza's story, Simoes does not have an ancestral family home, so he decides to build one, a simple beach hut. He gives a humorous account of his decision to buy land, have it blessed and build a house. His wife Gita and their architect, Sanju, are not impressed with his plans and design the house without consulting him. The architect insisted on reading everything Simoes had ever written about Goa and his family. She declares: "A house should be built with the belief that it will last forever. It should be the way you are, the way you feel about life, and each other."[157] In other words, he has to have family tradition associated with and it and build a house filled with his heirlooms that can be inherited by his children. Simoes does not resist. The implication is clear; a family home, no matter how it is acquired, is an essential part of any Goan's identity.

In the story "Dust" by Heta Pandit, the Goan feeling of connection to the family home and with their ancestors is vividly presented. The time period is not revealed, but it is probably before the Liberation. The main character in the story, Felicia, an unmarried older woman does her own dusting and refuses to allow the servants to do this chore.[158] While she is dusting, the past merges with the present and the ancestor's become part of her daily life as she speaks to the ghosts. The problem is that most of her ancestors speak Portuguese, and she had, on her father's insistence, received an English education. Her Uncle Fedor did not forgive his niece for "not

[156] Simoes, Glad Seasons in Goa, xiii.
[157] Simoes, Glad Seasons in Goa, 66.
[158] Pandit, "Dust," 23.

learning the language of the colonies."[159] Felicia agrees that an education in English has created problems for her, not only in communicating with her relatives, but it also it hurt her marriage prospects. Luckily, she inherited her house so she is still has her connection to her ancestors. The story reveals the view that the ancestral home is the key to holding onto Goan traditions. "Dust" also points out the consequences of breaking from tradition and accepting a culture and language that is foreign to Goa; Felicia is unmarried and cannot communicate with the past.

Exile and Return

Since World War II, there has been a high rate of Goan emigration in order to further their education and seek employment. Some Goans have gone to live in Bombay, but many others have gone to the Middle East (the Gulf area which includes countries such as Bahrain and Kuwait), the UK, Canada, Africa, Australia and the United States. Goa's high rate of emigration has had a major impact on Goan identity. Ex-patriots often write about their experiences in both fiction and non-fiction. Writing about their homeland is a way of holding onto culture and heritage. Eusebio L. Rodrigues believes a Goan is "an Exile in his own land."[160] The Hindu Goan has strong ties with his brothers outside of Goa and the Christian Goan his strong ties with other Christians, especially in the West. He believes that Goans as a group have always felt more comfortable in the West or places that have "pockets of Western culture".[161]

There was, however, a homeland to which they could always return:

> For the Goan in exile today the distance from Goa is immense—
> in two ways…physical and psychological. Our sons and daughters,

[159] Pandit, "Dust," 24.
[160] Rodrigues, "Stray Thoughts," 52.
[161] Rodrigues, "Stray Thoughts," 52.

> our grandsons and granddaughters find it difficult, almost impossible, to retain Goa in their being. The ties are too thin, stretched out, and will soon break up and be lost. It is and will be very difficult to bring the Goans together as a group—the old Goan Village associations no longer have the cohesive power to create and maintain a sense of Goanness. [However] more than others he can adjust to the situation he finds himself in. There is a danger, however, in his very adaptability ….in a generation or two he may lose his Goanness completely.[162]

According to Robert S. Newman, "[t]he experience of Diaspora, of being a total stranger in a strange land, has quintessentially been a Goan experience. Goa along with Greece, Ireland, Malta, Lebanon and some small Pacific states must have one of the highest rates of migration in the world."[163] Newman also states that dreaming about Goa and wanting to return to their homeland is to be expected, it is an essential part of Goan life and it helps Goans to deal with the pain and difficulties of family separations.[164]

An examination of Goan literature written by both expatriates and those remaining in Goa reveals a deep desire to return to the ancestral village and homeplace. An excellent example of this viewpoint is On a Goan Beach, by Remigio Botelho. A young man, Don Gomes, returns to Anjuna, Goa, after having lived in Kenya for twenty years. He returns because his father wants him to take care of the family home. The family was in danger of losing their estate in Goa because,"with the departure of the Portuguese from Goa it has become a little difficult for Goans domiciled abroad to come in possession of land or other property."[165] Dom's father informs his son that if their estate is not being taken care of by an heir, it will pass on to their tenants. He is

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[162] Rodrigues, "Stray Thoughts,"56-57.
[163] Newman, "Goddess of Dreams," 89.
[164] Newman, "Goddess of Dreams," 89.
[165] Botelho, On A Goan Beach, 15.

also concerned about the unstable situation in Africa and believes that the ancestral home would be a comfortable place in which to retire. The family is further concerned that numerous nephews were trying to get the estate because the only person looking after it is an elderly unmarried aunt.[166]

Dom agrees to return to Goa because he is a high school drop out and cannot obtain a good job in Africa. When he arrives in Anjuna in the late sixties or early seventies, he finds that his elderly aunt is not living in the house, but the caretaker Kunti is in charge. Dom is shocked when he goes inside of the house to discover the extent of its deterioration. "As he moved inside, the area of the corridors, and the rooms confirmed his first impression of that mansion's size, but the extent of neglect and decay was equally vast."[167] Kunti convinces Dom that he belongs in the home and he should try to make himself worthy of his heritage. Dom's aunt, a lady with very traditional ideas about marriage and family, believes that that living up to his heritage means not only looking after the ancestral home, but also marrying a woman from a background of which she approves. She tells Dom that the family disapproved of his father's marriage; he married beneath his status because his mother was the daughter of a musician. The disapproval was so great that the couple were forced to leave Goa and live in Africa. The aunt is convinced that Dom's father will suffer because of his marriage. She declares, "The souls of our ancestors will never forgive him for what he did. I'm sure he is trying to make up for it now; otherwise he would not have sent you home."[168] In traditional Goan society making a bad marriage is a

[166] Botelho, On a Goan Beach, 14-15.
[167] Botelho, On a Goan Beach, 26.
[168] Botelho, On a Goan Beach, 48.

person's social undoing. Approval of the ancestors is important because it shows that the ties to the homeplace extend well beyond an individual's choices; they extend into eternity.

One of the themes found in Tivolem by Victor Rangel Ribeiro is the return to the village by a man who has made his fortune while living abroad. In this novel, the character Senhor Eusebio returns from the Persian Gulf where he worked as a clerk and became wealthy. He decides to retire in his ancestral village, but when he sees his small and cramped ancestral home again, he decides to search for another home; one that showed the community that he was wealthy. Unable to find a suitable house, Senhor Eusebio decides to build a house. Land, however, is not readily available. The property he believes would be perfect for his new house belongs to Dona Esmeralda, a woman from an elite family. Senhor Eusebio decides the best approach to buy this land is to approach Dona Elena, a friend of Dona Esmeralda. She informs him that it will be difficult to buy any land in the area because most people there would never sell their land: "There are sentimental attachments that develop...and reluctances. Status--you'll understand….Its not like selling off a bit of furniture, though heaven knows that can be traumatic. But there are roots and memories…."[169] Senhor Eusebio quickly tells her that he is not interested in purchasing her land, but rather he wants to buy some of Dona Esmeralda's. He knows she is having financial problems and he is willing to pay a fair price for it. A meeting with Dona Esmeralda is arranged to discuss his proposal. At first she is reluctant to sell any of her property because she was afraid that her tenants would be forced to move. After negotiating with Dona Esmeralda and agreeing that the tenants can stay, Senhor Eusebio buys the property

[169] Ribeiro, Tivolem, 37.

and builds his "ancestral" house. Deciding that his new house should show off his newly acquired wealth, but conscious of social sensibilities, he builds a house that is bigger than Dona Elena's but smaller than Dona Esmeralda's. Dona Esmeralda does not approve of Don Eusebio's large house and voices her displeasure, saying it is "An ugly monstrosity-It doesn't belong. The man has much money but absolutely no taste."[170] Dona Elena replies, "Let's thank God for the money and blame the bad taste on the devil."[171] Senhor Eusebio continues to shock Dona Esmeralda by enlarging his plans to add a terrace on the roof with enough room for a band to perform. The tension between the two character increases as they trade insults such as saying that the other one's roof leaks during the monsoon season and that the antiques in the house are probably fake.[172] It is ironic that both houses have leaky roofs during the monsoon season, but, fittingly, Senhor Eusebio's new house has more leaks than Dona Esmerald's. Dona Esmeralda finally decides that insults are not sufficient to punish Senhor Eusebio for trying to upset the social structure in the village; she ostracizes him. The disapproval of the new house symbolizes the disapproval of the "nouveau riche" returning to Goa believing that they can buy a higher social status. If wealthy people could purchase an elite status, then the traditional elite would lose not only their status, but also their roots, and the established social order would be upset.

An example of Goan literature that discusses the Goan diaspora and the advantages for Goans of keeping their heritage is Lino Leitao's short story, "Thanks to the Goa Bus System." It is interesting to note that Lino Leitao himself is part of the Goan diaspora; he resides in Canada presumably some time after the Liberation. "Thanks to the Goa Bus System" is a short story

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[170] Ribeiro, Tivolem, 41.
[171] Ribeiro, Tivolem, 41.
[172] Ribeiro, Tivolem, 42-43.

about Angelo Martins, a Goan who emigrates to Canada. Before he leaves, he promises his mother that he will marry a woman not only Goan, but also from the same caste. After arriving in Canada, he adapts very well to his new culture. He learns both English and French and becomes a Canadian citizen. He saves his money and becomes very wealthy, but does not marry because of his promise to his mother. Angelo feels uncomfortable asking Goan women in Canada about their backgrounds, so he decides that he should return to Goa to find a wife. At first it is difficult to find him a suitable wife because the Goan women he meets prefer men who are living in the Middle East and are, therefore, wealthier rather than those who have been living in Canada. Angelo hears about a girl in Margao, through a matchmaker, and decides to take the bus to see her. While he is on the bus, he discusses politics with other passengers and meets a woman named Vanda, the woman of his dreams. He has lunch with her and decides that she is the girl that he wants to marry. When he returns home, he discovers that his mother knows not only knows Vanda's family, she also approves of the match. Angelo is happy that he is able to keep his promise to his mother. [173] The message in this story is clear. Angelo could go to a foreign country and change his citizenship, but he could not change his cultural ties to his homeland. Although he declares he is keeping his promise to his mother by marrying someone of whom she approves, the story ends with him finding the perfect mate and living happily ever after. The clear implication is that sticking to your roots and your heritage will lead you to happiness.

[173] Leitao, "Goa Bus System," 68.

The Mango and the Tamarind Tree by Leslie de Norohna presents the reverse situation. In the main character, Raoul, returns home from being abroad during the time of the Liberation. He falls in love with a girl from an unsuitable family, but the romance does not end happily. Raoul is from a very upper class elite family with a long history in the community and an ancestral home full of antiques. When he first arrives home he notices there are new neighbors next door. He asks his mother about these new neighbors and she responds:

> [they are] 'The Gonsalves family.'
> 'Never heard of them. Who are they?' Raoul asked.
> 'You don't know them,' his mother replied….
> 'Yes, but who are they? New neighbors?'
> 'Not quite. They have been here almost a year, but I never asked them over. The father is a retired engineer or architect or something.They made a lot of money during the war in British Africa; Kenya I think. They went out several years ago and have returned to Anjolim from where they originally came. So they are local people, of sorts, but a trifle common.'[174]

Raoul's mother's clearly show that she has investigated the family's background and lineage and she does not consider them to be socially acceptable. Although the Gonsalves family may be well educated and have become wealthy by going abroad, they were still not accepted by the elites because wealth and education have not removed the stigma of their lack of social status.

When Raoul meets the Gonsalves family, he immediately falls in love with their daughter, Estelle. Raoul's family is horrified by the romance and try to arrange a marriage for him with a "suitable girl" from his caste, but he is not interested in any of the girls they chose for

[174] De Norohna, Mango and Tamarind Tree, 48.

him. Raoul also breaks tradition not only by refusing to go through an arranged marriage, but also by deciding that he does not want the ancestral home when his mother dies. The family is again horrified and they remind him that the ancestral home is family property. The priest, Father Couto, speaks to Raoul about selling the house:

> 'What's this I hear about selling Anjolim, the house and
> all the property.
> Is it true Raoul?'
> 'Yes and no. I have been thinking about it.'
> 'It is family property.
> 'I know.' Raoul said, slightly bitter. "That point has been
> repeated ad nauseum.'[175]

Raoul and Estelle's romance ends unhappily when she chooses to take care of her disabled younger brother rather than marry Raoul.[176] The message conveyed is that choosing an unsuitable partner and giving up the ancestral home, (both of which are acts of giving up one's roots and heritage), will leave Goans disappointed and broken hearted. In this and many other stories, choosing a suitable life partner and raising a family in the ancestral home is one's ultimate goal in life. It is an obligation that is not to be taken lightly because it reaches to the very essence of Goan identity.

Some Goans who emigrate however, do establish roots outside of Goa, but Goa still remains not only in their hearts, but also an essential part of their identity. Peter Nazareth's novel The General Is Up, set in the fictitious country of Damibia, (which in reality is the country of Uganda) explores the situation of Goans in Africa. It is interesting to note that the author is a Goan from Uganda. In this novel, The General becomes the dictator of the country and passes a

[175] De Noronha, Mango and Tamarind Tree, 171.
[176] De Norohna, Mango and Tamarind Tree, 224.

law that anyone who cannot prove that they have Damibian citizenship must leave the country. Many Damibians of Goan descent were born there, but cannot prove their citizenship. [177]The main character David Da Costa is a high government official. Although he was born and raised in Africa, he is also a member of the Goan Association. He thinks of himself as a Goan/Damibian.[178] The problem is that although his brother can prove citizenship, he cannot. This presents a huge dilemma for those who cannot prove Damibian citizenship because they are not considered to be British citizens; in reality, they are stateless people. Some of the Goan-Africans who lose their citizenship choose to emigrate back to Goa and some choose go to England, but the majority receive refugee status in Canada.[179] David is forced to leave Damibia to live in Canada, but he does not resign from his government position until after he is safely out of the country.[180] It is interesting to note that that Damibian Goans did not emigrate to Bombay or other parts of India. The General is Up shows that the Goan diaspora is increasing and Goans now live all over the world. Although Goans have established roots outside of Goa many still consider themselves Goans no matter where they are residing.

Eusebio L. Rodrigues' essay, "Thoughts on Exile," discusses the plight of Goans who were in Uganda and then expelled from the country. He states that Goans do not leave Goa as refugees, nor were they fleeing political or religious persecution. They went to Africa or Bombay with dreams that they would return to get married and to retire: "The Goan dream was not to

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[177] Nazareth, General Is Up, 33-37.
[178] Nazareth, General is Up, 33-37.
[179] Nazareth, General is Up, 111-116.
[180] Nazareth, General is Up, 106.

settle in a foreign land. It was to work hard, earn money-save it in order to return to Goa."[181] Rodrigues points out that the Goans in Africa were different from other Goans because most of them had emigrated from Goa when it was still a Portuguese colony; therefore, many of the Goans in Kampala thought of themselves as Portuguese citizens.[182] The author states, "For me it [the problem is Goans being exiled from Uganda and becoming refugees in another country] provides insights into the problem of being a true Goan."[183]

Although Goan emigration is a popular subject in Goan literature, very little is written about individual Goan women who emigrate, as opposed to the whole family. "Gulf" by Heta Pandit explores a woman's experience of leaving her daughter to go work in the Gulf. Olinda Rosario, a poor woman who is fifty three years old, is offered a job by her *bhatka* to work for his daughter as a nanny who is going with her husband and three small children to the Gulf.[184] She is surprised to be offered the job because she believes that it is a good position. She dreams of the wealth she will acquire by working abroad:

> Think of it! With money she'd buy all the gold in the world. She'd cover her little Samantha [Olinda's daughter] with gold-kilos, tons of it. She looked at the landlord's daughter…Olinda thought of each of her neighbours. Now she'd show them! She would also come back with glossy, shiny net saris for Samantha.[185]

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[181] Nazareth, "End of Exile, 53.
[182] Nazareth, "End of Exile, 54.
[183] Nazareth, "End of Exile," 54.
[184] Pandit. "The Gulf, " The author includes a glossary at the back of the book where she defines the work *bhatka* as a Konkani word meaning "landed gentry in Goa."
[185] Pandit, "The Gulf," 190.

Unfortunately Olinda does not realize that she obtained this position because the family believes it does not have to pay her much money. She also has no idea as to the working conditions she is going to encounter overseas. In reality, the family will treat her like a slave:

> Hazel [the *bhatka's* daughter] had decided that she would explain the rules of the House after they got there….she had not told her that she would have to keep the house scrupulously clean, get the children dressed for school, give their breakfasts, cook their lunches, prepare their teas, and have them bathed and dressed for dinners. That there would be no Sundays and no holidays…and that she would not be allowed to travel on her own…that she would not be given an allowance but that her remittances would be sent directly to the Bank here.[in Goa] that she could only return after three whole years. That during that time, she would have no friends, no contact with anybody.[186]

This short story illustrates the problems many Goan women encounter when they leave Goa to work abroad. Many of the women who leave Goa do so not to further their educations, but to work as domestics in the homes of wealthy families. Many of them must emigrate in order to support family members, especially their children. Although these women dream about becoming wealthy and returning to Goa, for most their dream will be unfulfilled.

Exploring the Goan concept that one must return through the writings of Goan authors is a concept that is particularly strong among the expatriate community. Peter Nazareth believes that "the Portuguese conquest of the city-state of Goa led to a long displacement that has not ended. Various things lie submerged in the Goan unconscious. First there is pre-Portuguese Hinduism and second:

> Goans have gone all over the world, and while they have longed for home, they have adapted to their new environments and taken new things into the matrix of their culture. The people who

[186] Pandit, "The Gulf," 192-193.

> have done it best may not have been intellectuals but 'ordinary' women who have had it imprinted on them---thanks to dozens of uprisings against the Portuguese which failed and let to the men being punished--it is up to them to look after the future of their children. [187]

Nazareth raises the questions asked by many people: "Why do Goans insist they are Goan? Why don't you say you are Indian" Isn't Goa part of India?" to explain the role Goan writers play:

> The explanation is from our history: Goans have been so denationalized by colonialism that we dig in to resist further denial that we are a people. The fact we can provide so little evidence to show why we are particularly proud to be Goans proves my point.[188]

In the words of Eusebio L. Rodrigues: "Today's Goans are experiencing an exile that is an essential part of the human condition. We sense that we are all wanderers on this earth. That we are far from home."[189] This sense of alienation is also present in many Goan works of fiction. They present conflicting ideas between the generations; the older people want to maintain the traditional values and the younger people want to live their lives according to their own ideas. The more this identity is challenged, however, the more the older generation will want to define it. Children are learning Konkani and the ancestral village and home continues to hold a special place in Goan consciousness for those who remain in Goa. For those who have moved abroad, it

[187] Nazareth, "End of Exile," 40.
[188] Nazareth, "End of Exile," 46
[189] Rodrigues, "Stray Thoughts," 58

is inevitable, however, that the more the Diaspora increases, and the more generations are removed from their Goan roots, there will be less interest by Goans' descendants will have in returning to Goa. They will have no emotional ties the village and the ancestral home.

CONCLUSION

Goan identity has changed dramatically since it became part of India. While most Goans have given up their Portuguese identity and no longer claim to be Portuguese or Portuguese citizens, many have retained some of the Portuguese language and culture. Most Goans today have adopted a dual Goan/Indian identity which is similar to the subnationality view of Puerto Ricans. The question is can Goan identity be defined as a subnationality or a completely separate identity?

One example of a colony that has formed a subnationality, or, as some scholars argue, a separate identity from its colonial power is Puerto Rico. How do Puerto Ricans view themselves? Are they Americans first? Puerto Ricans first? Or only Puerto Ricans? The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move, Identities on the Island and the United States, by Jorge Duany discusses how Nations and Nationalism cannot be treated only as a political ideology, the issues must also be considered a cultural phenomena. According to the Duany, Puerto Ricans do have the view that they share the same religion, language, and cultural customs that make them different from non-Puerto Rican Americans. Although Puerto Rico has been a colony of the United States since 1917, Puerto Ricans do not have the perception that they are Puerto Ricans first, then Americans second. According to Duany, "most Puerto Ricans see no contradiction between asserting their Puerto Rican nationality at the same time defending their US citizenship."[190] But Puerto Rican identity does not remain the same, over time it changes according to the perception of its people:

[190] Duany, Puerto Rican Nation, 13.

"All forms of identity are imagined, invented and represented…."[191] According to most Goan literature and the thoughts of others on the subject, Goans have also changed their perception of their identity over time. Duany further states that, "nations are not natural and eternal essences but contingent, slippery and fuzzy constructs, always in a process of redefinition."[192]

A second important issue in defining Goan identity has been the debate over the official language of Goa. Since the Official Language Act, however, most Goans agree that Konkani should be the official language. The majority of Goans believe that using Marathi instead of Konkani would mean that Goa would lose its unique identity and would just become a district of Maharastra, completely dominated by the Hindu culture of India. Although the issue about the official language is supposedly settled, Goans are increasingly learning English because they believe that it is the language of success.

The concept of Goan identity is in transition. As more Goans leave the region in search of educational and employment opportunities, it has become important for them to maintain the dream of returning to their homeland. The dream, however, is more than just returning home. It includes creating, maintaining, or acquiring a home not only for yourself, but also for your descendants. In other words, it is important for Goans to define and preserve their heritage, traditions, and distinct culture. It does seem, however, that they are ignoring the reality that the Goa of their dreams is changing dramatically. It is gradually assuming an Indian identity as they have swapped one colonial ruler for

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[191] Duany, Puerto Rican Nation, 8.
[192] Duany, Puerto Rican Nation , 7.

another. Only time will tell how well Goans are able to preserve a separate identity as more Indian influences seep into their culture.

While there are differences of opinions about how Goans define themselves, they believe that their traditions and culture must be preserved. Many Goans believe they will lose their traditions as the Disapora grows and people, such as Kashmiris, Gypsies, and Rajasthanis, migrate to Goa in search of jobs.[193] The Indian government and tourist industry officials have also attempted to define Goan Identity. They have not always been accurate. As Goa becomes more of an international vacation destination, these officials sell to unsuspecting tourists what they have defined as authentic Goan culture. Many emphasize Goa's European culture while ignoring the region's Indian and Hindu history. Goa has become a "Touristan" for Europeans who go to Goa not to learn and explore the history and culture of a unique region of India, but, rather, just to enjoy the beaches.

Many of the Goans who return as tourists and bring their families, however, are interested in Goan history and culture. As a result, the Diaspora is starting to have significant impact on the tourist industry. A positive aspect of it is that the relationship between the local population and visitors to Goa continues its ties to the West:

> Perhaps such knowledge of and connections with, the wider world also contribute to the relatively cosmopolitan atmosphere in Goa….The positive reinterpretation of their colonial past seems to have prevented the growth of the sort of resentments which are common throughout the Caribbean. Nor did there seem to be any of the confusion between memories of colonial servility and ideas of customer service which also generate tension and hostility between local inhabitants and tourists in the West Indies.[194]

[193] Wilson, "Paradoxes of Tourism," 203.
[194] Wilson, "Paradoxes of Tourism," 190.

One of the best ways to see how Goans view themselves and the changes their identity has undergone is to read their literature. Most of their novels, short stories, plays, and essays contain descriptions on how they define their identity. Newspapers, periodicals, and internet bulletin boards also provide a great deal of information on Goan identity. These additional sources also contain opinions from Goans from many different professions to express their views and thereby allow for a more complete view of how Goan identity and how it is changing.

Goa has the potential to turn into a tourist destination in which their indigenous identity will be preserved and celebrated in a way that is similar to the Mayan culture of the Yucatan peninsula in Mexico. In the Yucatan, a region in Southern Mexico, the Mexican government has spent millions of dollars renovating ancient sites which provide employment for a formerly impoverished indigenous people, and validates their heritage in the world.[195] As a result, the area has a dynamic living culture which takes great pride in the quality of the services they provide. Eugenio Cruz, an indigenous tour guide in Mexico, who is very proud of his heritage and work, states that becoming a guide is not an easy task to accomplish. Even if guides work for private companies, they must pass rigorous government exams on Mexican history, culture, and art. He explains that even the groundskeepers of ancient sites must pass these exams.[196] Some guides are graduate history students or professors who work in the tourism industry during the summer. Other

[195] INEGI website.
[196] Eugenio Cruz, Personal Interview.

guides are native Mayans from the Yucatan who tell traditional stories associated with the ancient ruins. These guides are very popular with the children who visit the area. Most guides speak both Spanish and English, in addition to Mayan, and many of them also speak European languages such as French and German. They are all enthusiastic in sharing their heritage with visitors.

A similar situation has occurred in Madeira, the island region of Portugal. It is located west of Morocco in the Atlantic Ocean. Although Madeira was not technically a colony, and it was not settled until 1418 when Joao Goncalves Zarco and Tristao Vaz Texeira accidentally landed on these islands when they were sailing to Africa. They found these islands deserted. Madeira (the Portuguese word for "wood") acquired its name because it was heavily forested. The forests were stripped, sugar plantations were built, and the capital city Funchal became an important international seaport for the Portuguese to use on their way to Portuguese colonies.

During the seventeenth century Madeira abandoned growing sugarcane and started to make wine; even today, Madeira wine is famous all over the world for its wine. In the nineteenth century tourism was added to the economy and it is an essential part of the Madeiran economy. In 1891 the Reid hotel in Funchal opened to cater to British tourists. Today British tourists are still flocking to Madeira. There are many charter flights from England and most people on the island speak English.[197] Like Goa, Madeira also has a Diaspora. Madeirans, however, often return to use their newly acquired

[197] Dunlap, Traveler Portugal, 221.

language skills in a highly regulated tourism industry. Taxi drivers in Madeira often are hired by the day as tour guides and they are usually as knowledgeable as the tour guides who work for private companies.[198]

In Goa the people are equally proud of their history and heritage, but the exiled Goans are not given an incentive to return home other than an emotional attachment to their former village and homeplace. Although there are many historic and culturally important sites, temples and archeological places of importance, they are not well developed for tourism.

If Goans can present their culture and traditions in a manner similar to that of the Yucatan or Madeira, revenue from the tourist industry will provide employment to the returnees and other Goans, assist in raising funds for preserving their museums, ancient sights, and traditions. A few tour companies have already come up with the idea of comparing Goan tourism to that of the Yucatan as Goan charms are now advertised as "nearly Mexican."[199] Mexico has a very diverse and different culture from Goa. Such advertising does a disservice to both areas, and revives the argument set forth in the Denationalization of Goa that Goa does not have its own unique culture and identity. While the Diaspora has helped Goans to develop a more cosmopolitan identity, they should take steps to preserve their unique Goan identity before it is lost forever or completely absorbed by an India.

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[198] Catling, Top 10 Madeira, 103.
[199] Newman, Goa: Transformation, 32.

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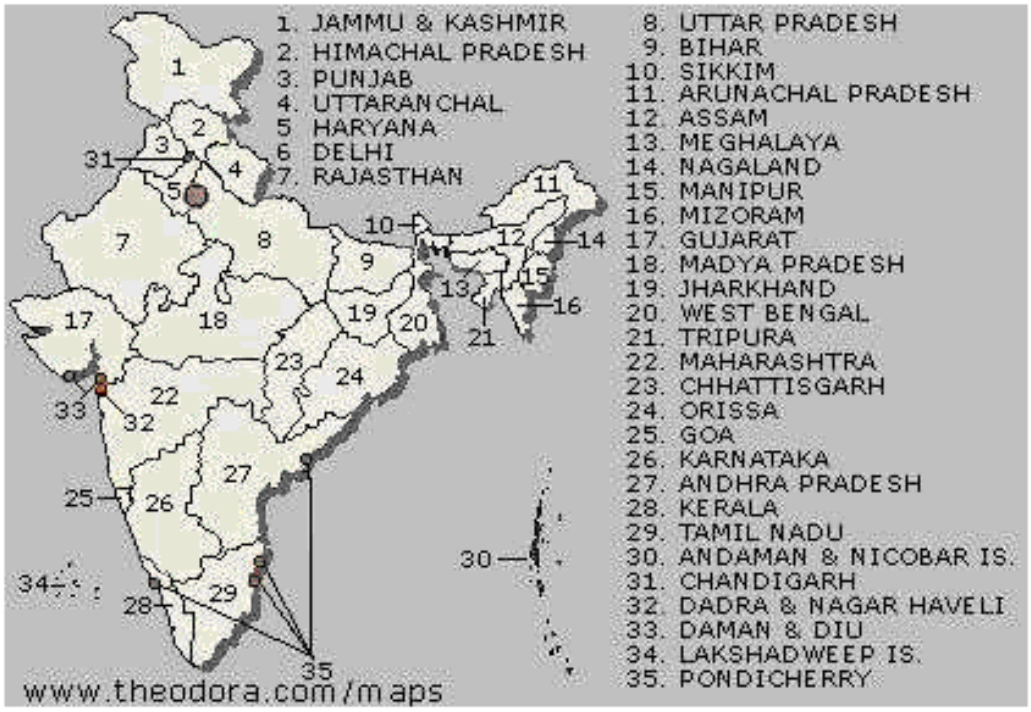
APPENDIX A:
MAP- STATES OF INDIA



Map courtesy of www.theodora.com/maps, used with permission.

APPENDIX B:
MAP- GOA, INDIA

Map courtesy of the Goa Tourist Authority, used with permission.

APPENDIX C:
THE ANCESTRAL HOME OF DR. CAMILA RIBEIRO DA COSTA